

MERSHON CENTER *for* INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

ANNUAL REPORT 2006 | 2007





Mission Statement

The mission of the Merishon Center is to advance the understanding of national security in a global context. The center does this by fostering research on the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict.



About the Center

The Mershon Center for International Security Studies is the fulfillment of a bequest by Colonel Ralph D. Mershon to The Ohio State University for the exploration of matters pertaining to national security.



Ralph D. Mershon was a man of action in public life. He organized the American engineers for service in World War I and led a public effort to create legislation that was the forerunner of the Reserve Officer Training Corps in the United States. He also was a contemplative and inventive person

who held a number of important patents for his work in electrical engineering. Col. Mershon died February 14, 1952, and is buried in Zanesville, Ohio.

The Mershon Center is also supported by community gifts and grant money. The center's mission is to advance the scholarly study and intellectual understanding of national security in a global context.

The center does this by fostering research on three areas of focus:

- The use of force and diplomacy
- The ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security
- The institutions that manage violent conflict

The Mershon Center encourages collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects within the university and with other institutions around the world. Current projects include a comparative analysis of elections in 19 democracies, an examination of the dissent-repression cycle in the Middle East, and a history of the interactions between Islam and secularism in modern Turkey. Faculty from many departments and from across the university participate in these projects.

Mershon supports multidisciplinary teams and individual faculty research. The center hosts visiting scholars and postdoctoral fellows, and it supports student research. The Mershon Center also organizes conferences, symposia, and workshops that bring together scholars, government officials, and business leaders from around the world to discuss the latest research in national and international security affairs.

From the Director

Since 1967, the Mershon Center has worked to fulfill the vision of Ralph D. Mershon. He gave his generous gift to The Ohio State University nearly 50 years ago to ensure that civilians would study military activities.



Richard Herrmann

The mission of the Mershon Center is to advance the understanding of national security in a global context. Rarely has that task seemed more urgent and complicated than today. With active fighting ongoing in Iraq and Lebanon, China and Japan expressing concerns about each other's rising nationalism, nuclear and missile technologies proliferating, and the War on Terrorism defining a very different sort of battlefield, a host of fundamental questions have been raised:

- How can military force be used effectively to advance political aims? When and why will its use fail politically even if it succeeds tactically? How can we identify and change the ideas that motivate enemies?
- What role do national and religious identities play in conflict, and are they immutable or can we devise strategies to ameliorate the conflicts they generate?
- What sorts of institutions have been successful in channeling otherwise violent conflicts into more peaceful directions? How can such institutions be built and sustained both inside countries and among them?

The Mershon Center promotes collaborative research among colleagues from more than 10 departments at Ohio State. Funding multidisciplinary faculty research projects, student research projects, and a host of seminars and conferences, the Mershon Center not only serves as a catalyst for activities on campus, but also brings to Ohio State world-leading scholars and practitioners that enrich the intellectual life and student experience. This report gives a flavor of the myriad activities, seminars, and conferences that took place at the center this past year. I am grateful to the many faculty colleagues, center staff, and host of students who made them successful.

The Mershon Center's principal aim is to produce scholarship that has lasting value. We are particularly proud of the recognition bestowed on several of our colleagues for their sustained contribution. Allan Millet was awarded the U.S. Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service; Geoffrey Parker was named a Distinguished University Professor; and Carole Fink won Ohio State's annual Distinguished Scholar Award. Marilyn Brewer received the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association, and Alexander Wendt was identified in *Foreign Policy* magazine as one of the three most influential scholars writing on international relations today. With colleagues like these, it should be easy to understand why being director of the Mershon Center is a pleasure.

More information about the Mershon Center, along with video versions of many talks given here, are available on our web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.



BY THE NUMBERS

General

Number of faculty research projects supported: **14**

Number of postdoctorate fellows and visiting scholars: **6**

Number of student travel and research grants given: **15**

Number of departments whose faculty and students were supported: **15**

Events

Number of speaker series organized: **10**

Number of speaker events held: **42**

Number of conferences sponsored: **7**

Number of collaborating colleges, departments, and centers: **17**

Total number of attendees: **More than 3,000**

Number of colleges, departments, and centers reached: **More than 50**

Faculty

Number of books published: **20**

Number of special issues of journals edited: **2**

Number of articles published: **137**

Number who won major awards: **9**

Number of times cited by media: **301**

Students

Number of research assistantships supported: **32** (25 percent each)

Number of undergraduate student employees: **6**

Number of undergraduate attendees at events: **About 1,200**

Number of graduate student attendees at events: **About 700**

Web Site

Unique visitors: **26,820**

Number of visits: **38,835**

Number of page views: **125,498**

Average number of countries whose citizens visit per month: **57**

Percentage of visitors who bookmark web site in favorites: **35**



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RESEARCH



Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi set off a wave of protest when he visited Tokyo's Yasukuni Shrine on August 15, 2006, to honor war dead and war criminals on the emotionally charged 61st anniversary of Japan's defeat in World War II. The visit triggered outrage among many of Japan's neighbors who had suffered brutal occupation during the war. Koizumi prays at the shrine (top) as protestors demonstrate in Seoul, South Korea (second frame), Beijing, China (third frame), and the Chinese territory of Hong Kong (bottom). (AFP/Getty Images)

RESEARCH

Richard Herrmann

Richard Herrmann is a professor of political science and director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies. Since 2002,

Herrmann has led the Mershon Center's efforts to attract a world-class faculty, establish its reputation as a leader in security studies, and offer special opportunities to enhance the student experience.

As a scholar, Herrmann specializes in international relations, security and conflict studies, political psychology, Soviet and American foreign policies, and politics in the Middle East and South Asia. He has written on the role of perception and imagery in foreign policy and the importance of nationalism and identity politics in world affairs.

For his scholarship, Herrmann was named a Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow by the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Ohio State for 2007–10.

Herrmann is author or editor of three books, including:

- *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, ed. with Thomas Risse and Marilyn Brewer (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004)
- *Ending the Cold War: Interpretations, Causation and the Study of International Relations*, ed. with Richard Ned Lebow (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)
- *Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985)

Herrmann has also published more than 40 articles, book chapters, and reviews in such journals as *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, and *World Politics*. His most recent article, "From Prediction to Learning: Opening Expert Minds to Unfolding History," with Jong Kun Choi (*International Security*, 2007), outlines the results of a multi-year study of experts on Korea that aims to improve how intelligence analysts update their estimates as new information becomes available.

Currently, Herrmann is working with Pierangelo Isernia of the University of Siena and Paolo Segatti of the University of Milan on "National Identity: Taproot of War or Building Block of Peace?" This project uses two national surveys in the United States and Italy to explore the role of national identities in international relations.

Herrmann and his coauthors advance a three-dimensional definition of national identity based on:

- National attachment, or the feeling that one's belonging to a nation is an important part of one's identity
- Nativism, or the belief that the nation is bounded by certain cultural markers
- National chauvinism, or the feeling that one's own nation is vastly superior to others

The authors then measure whether strong national attachment, nativism, and chauvinism are more likely to produce a popular reservoir easily tapped for war or foster international cooperation and peace. They also examine decisions to cooperate with the United Nations in containing Iran's nuclear proliferation and Sudan's humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

Attachment to the nation in Italy and the United States is found to associate with less support for militarist options and more support for international cooperation. Nativism and chauvinism, however, associate with greater support for militarism.

Besides his scholarship, Herrmann also brings practical experience to his post as director of the Mershon Center. From 1989–91, he was a member of Secretary of State James Baker's policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State. Herrmann holds a master's degree in public and international affairs and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Pittsburgh.



Mershon Center Director Richard Herrmann welcomes participants to the "1956: Race, Neutrality, and National Liberation" conference on Oct. 14, 2006.

Research by Endowed Professors

John Mueller

John Mueller is the Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies at the Mershon Center and a professor of political science at Ohio State.

His research interests include international politics, foreign policy, defense policy, public opinion, democratization, economic history, post-Communism, and terrorism.

Mueller is the author or editor of 15 books, including:

- *The Remnants of War* (Cornell, 2004), winner of the Joseph P. Lepgold Prize, awarded by Georgetown University for the Best Book on International Relations in 2004
- *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery* (Princeton, 1999)
- *Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics* (HarperCollins, 1995)
- *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War* (University of Chicago, 1994)
- *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (Basic Books, 1989)
- *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Wiley, 1973), called a "classic" by the *American Political Science Review*

Mueller's most recent book, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press, 2006), argues that the entire war on terror has been a radical overreaction to a rare event. Even including 9/11, he says, the odds of an American being killed by international terrorism are microscopic. Lashing out at the terrorist threat has been much more expensive than the terrorist attack itself. Mueller argues that it is time to rethink the entire enterprise and spend much smaller amounts only on things that do matter: intelligence, law enforcement, and disruption of radical groups overseas.

Besides his publications, Mueller is interviewed regularly by major media outlets such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*,

Chicago Tribune, *International Herald Tribune*, *USA Today*, Associated Press, Reuters, CNN, Fox News, and National Public Radio for stories about the Iraq war, war on terror, and war and public opinion. Just this past year, he was quoted in more than 130 outlets, including Comedy Central's *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, where he discussed *Overblown*.

Mueller is currently working on two projects, both extensions of his most recent books. The first project, "The Decline of War," looks at trends in warfare over the past 70 years, arguing that war has been declining in frequency in all forms, including civil war. This project updates Mueller's prize-winning book *The Remnants of War*. Portions of the research will be published in the inaugural issue of *Lapham's Quarterly* in autumn 2007.

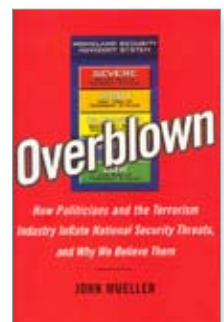
Mueller's second project, tentatively called "The Quixotic Quest for Invulnerability," examines the process, often heavily influenced by politics, by which the Department of Homeland Security identifies potential terrorist targets and then spends money on their defense. For low-probability, high-impact concerns like an attack with nuclear weapons, he argues, protective measures may make limited sense. But for many potential targets, the best policy may be to do nothing, given that the number of targets is huge, the likelihood a specific one will be hit is extremely small, and a terrorist who finds one target protected can simply move on to the next.



John Mueller



John Mueller (left), Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, discusses his book *Overblown* with host Jon Stewart of Comedy Central's *The Daily Show* on Oct. 31, 2006. The show was visiting the Ohio State campus that week.



RESEARCH

Research by Endowed Professors

Allan R. Millett

Allan R. Millett, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Professor Emeritus of History, is a specialist in the history of American military policy and 20th-century wars and military institutions. He is one of the founders of the internationally renowned military history program at The Ohio State University.



Allan R. Millett

Millett is the author of seven books, including:

- *The Korean War: The Essential Bibliography* (Potomac Books, 2007)
- *A House Burning: The War for Korea, 1945–50* (University Press of Kansas, 2005) (named a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title by the American Library Association)
- *Their War for Korea* (Potomac Books, 2002)
- *In Many a Strife: General Gerald C. Thomas and the United States Marine Corps, 1917–56* (U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1993)
- *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps* (Free Press, 1980, rev. 1991), winner of the Gen. Wallace M. Greene Prize for Marine Corps History
- *The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881–1925* (Greenwood Press, 1975)
- *The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906–09* (The Ohio State University Press, 1968)

In the past decade, Millett has become an international authority on the Korean War. His latest book, *The Korean War: The Essential Bibliography*, serves as an essential reference tool, guiding the researcher through the studies of the build-up to the war, its strategic aspects, the roles of China and the United Nations as well as the United States, and the events following the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Besides his work on the Korean War, Millett coauthored with Williamson Murray *A War To Be Won: Fighting the Second World War* (Belknap Press, 2000), which has been translated into Spanish, Chinese, and Hebrew. With Peter Maslowski he wrote *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United*

States, 1907–1983 (Free Press, 1984, rev. 1994).

Millett is also co-editor of seven books including *Military Effectiveness* (Routledge, 1988), a three-volume history of military affairs 1900–45, and *Commandants of the Marine Corps* (U.S. Naval Institute Press, 2004), winner of the Gen. O.P. Smith Prize for Best Edited Book.

In 2006, Millett became the Stephen Ambrose Professor of Military History and director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies at the University of New Orleans. Under Millett's direction, the Eisenhower Center will advance the study of the interaction between U.S. political culture in the 20th century and the causes, conduct, and consequences of U.S. defense policy and the use of force as an instrument of policy.

Mason Chair search ongoing

In 1997, Major General Raymond E. Mason Jr. (ret.) endowed a professorship in military history at the

Mershon Center for International Security Studies. Allan R. Millett held the position until he retired in 2006.



Major General Raymond E. Mason Jr.

Recently, the Mason Foundation generously increased its gift, turning the endowed professorship into an endowed chair. The search to fill this position is ongoing.

The Mason Chair will be a recognized, published expert on the history of American military policy and armed forces, civil-military relations, or the history of the military profession in the United States. Service in the American armed forces is preferred.

For more information, please contact Richard Herrmann, director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, at herrmann.1@osu.edu.



Research by Endowed Professors

Alexander Wendt

Alexander Wendt is the Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security Studies at the Mershon Center. His research interests include international relations theory, global governance, political and social theory, and the philosophy of social science.

Wendt is one of the most cited international relations scholars today. Based on a survey by the College of William and Mary of 2,000 international relations faculty, *Foreign Policy* named him the third-most influential scholar in the field over the past 20 years.

Wendt is so important because he was one of the first scholars to bring social constructivist theory to international relations. His book *Social Theory of International Politics* argues that international politics is determined not primarily by material concerns such as wealth and power, but by states' perceptions of each other as rivals, enemies, and friends.

Social Theory of International Politics has been translated into seven languages and was named Best Book of the Decade by the International Studies Association in 2006. Wendt is currently working on two projects: the idea of a quantum social science, and the epistemology of ignorance about UFOs.

In *Quantum Mind and Social Science*, Wendt is exploring the implications for social science of recent claims in neuroscience that human consciousness is a quantum mechanical phenomenon—in other words, it behaves as both wave and particle. Because consciousness is key to the social construction of reality, he argues, if these claims are true, then social science must shift its foundation from classical to quantum mechanics.

As part of this quantum project, Wendt is writing a separate paper suggesting that the international system is a hologram. Unlike photographs, holograms

store all their information in every part of the image. Thus, if a hologram is cut into pieces, each piece will still contain a smaller but intact version of the original image.

Wendt argues the same is true of the international system. Each person represents one point in the international system, and as such has all the information needed to recreate the system as a whole in his or her own mind.

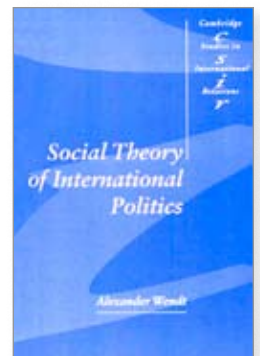
In his other area of current research, "Sovereignty and the UFO," Wendt and coauthor Raymond Duvall argue that states have shown little interest in studying UFOs and that in fact their disregard goes beyond simply lack of interest to active denial. This is puzzling, because if UFOs were shown to be extra-terrestrial, it would be one of the most important events in human history. Yet discussion of UFOs is taboo, and they want to know why.

Wendt and Duvall take no position on what UFOs are—extra-terrestrials, natural phenomena, or something manmade—but instead explore the question of why the authorities refuse to study them. The answer, they argue, is that the serious examination of UFOs would challenge state sovereignty.

State authority rests on the ability to establish and enforce norms, engage in systematic surveillance, and develop specialized knowledge for the production of disciplined subjects. If a state found that a UFO was extra-terrestrial, this would represent a power it could not normalize. Therefore, Wendt and Duvall argue, states prefer not to ask the question.



Alexander Wendt



RESEARCH

Research by Endowed Professors

Robert J. McMahon

Robert J. McMahon is Ralph D. Mershon

Professor of History at the Mershon Center. A

leading historian of U.S. diplomatic history, McMahon also serves on the State Department Historical Advisory Committee, which makes recommendations about declassifying government documents for *Foreign Relations of the United States*, the official history of U.S. foreign policy published since the Lincoln administration.



Robert J. McMahon



McMahon is the author or editor of several books, including:

- *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War* (D.C. Heath, 1990, 1995, 2003; 4th rev. ed., Houghton Mifflin, forthcoming 2007)
- *The Cold War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003)
- *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II* (Columbia University Press, 1999)
- *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan* (Columbia University Press, 1994; 1996)
- *The Origins of the Cold War* (D.C. Heath, 1991, 1999)
- *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945–49* (Cornell University Press 1981)

McMahon has also written numerous articles, book chapters, and reviews. His recent and forthcoming articles include:

- "Security or Freedom? The Impact of the Korean War on America's Quest for a Liberal World Order," in *America's Wars and World Order*, ed. by Hideki Kan (Tokyo, forthcoming)
- "Turning Point: The Vietnam War's Pivotal Year, November 1967 to November 1968," *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, ed. by David L. Anderson (forthcoming)
- "U.S. National Security Policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1*, ed. by Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (forthcoming)
- "The Danger of Geopolitical Fantasies: Nixon, Kissinger, and the South Asia Crisis of 1971," in

Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–1977, ed. by Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

- "The Security Imperative: U.S. Cold War Strategy, 1947–1963" (*New England Journal of History*, forthcoming, 2007)
- "American Studies and the Challenge of Globalization" (*Nanzan Review of American Studies*, 2006)

This year, McMahon presented papers on U.S. diplomatic history at several international conferences, including "Crises in the Cold War" at Hamburg University in Germany (May 2006), "America's Wars" at Osaka University in Japan (July 2006), and "America and Iraq" at University College Dublin in Ireland (November 2006).

McMahon is currently working on *Dean Acheson: Architect of the American Century*. This book will concentrate on Acheson's diplomatic career; his influence on the development and implementation of American foreign policy during World War II and the Cold War; and the personal, political, social, and cultural forces that shaped his world view. He has also signed a contract with Oxford University Press to edit a book of original essays called *The Third World and the Cold War*.

Besides his publications, McMahon was organizer for two conferences at the Mershon Center this year, "Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–77," which examined U.S. foreign policy during the Nixon and Ford administrations, and "The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History," which brought together the latest scholarship on the history of public diplomacy from a variety of disciplines.

The Nixon conference has already led to an edited book forthcoming from Oxford University Press. More information on both conferences, including a list of participants, can be found in the "Events" section of this report.

Research by Endowed Professors

Geoffrey Parker

Geoffrey Parker is Distinguished University Professor and Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History at The Ohio State University, as well as an associate of the Mershon Center.

Parker has published widely on the social, political, and military history of early modern Europe. His best-known book is *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988), winner of the “best book” prize from both the American Military Institute and the Society for the History of Technology. This book is now in its third edition and has been translated into seven languages.

In 1999 the Society for Military History awarded Parker its Samuel Eliot Morison Prize for contributions to the field of military history. In 2007 he gave the eighth George C. Marshall Lecture at the 2007 American Historical Association Annual Convention: “States Make War and Wars also Break States.”

Parker’s most recent book is *Unmaking the West: ‘What If?’ Scenarios That Rewrite World History* (Michigan, 2006), edited with former Mershon Center director Richard Ned Lebow and former Mershon associate Philip E. Tetlock. The seed for the project was planted during a talk at the center in the mid-1990s, and it was nurtured to fruition by two Mershon conferences.

The book applies counterfactual reasoning to a particularly demanding test case—the rise of the West—by asking three questions:

- How close did the West come to not rising as the result of internal events?
- How close did external events come to preventing the rise of the West?
- Could the rise of the West have taken a different form?

The authors find that while there were infinite possibilities for redirecting history before 1500 so

that the West never “rises,” after then it becomes progressively more difficult to find single events that “but for this” the world would have taken a different path. After 1800, it is virtually impossible to halt or reverse the rise of the West.

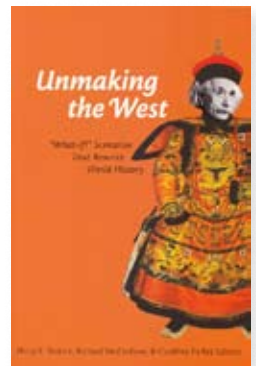
Parker is currently completing *Climate and Catastrophe: The World Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, which looks at why the mid-17th century saw more wars and state breakdowns around the world than any other period before or since. His explanation involves five factors: a sudden episode of “global cooling”; the emergence of vulnerable areas of economic specialization; a sharp increase in religious and fiscal pressure by many governments; the crumbling of the prevailing demographic regime; and the emergence of radical new ideologies. The interplay of these five elements produced major crises worldwide, and *Climate and Catastrophe* examines how they combined to wreak havoc in the mid-17th century.

In 1984, Parker was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, the highest honor open to scholars in the humanities in Britain. He is also a Corresponding Fellow of the Dutch and Spanish Royal Academies and holds honorary degrees from Vrije Universiteit (1990) and Katholieke Universiteit (2004), both in Brussels. In 1992, the King of Spain made Parker a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Isabella the Catholic, and in 1996 he became Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Alfonso the Wise. In 2001 he won both a John Simon Guggenheim Senior Fellowship and a Harry Frank Guggenheim Fellowship to support his work on *Climate and Catastrophe*.

Parker’s contribution to excellence at Ohio State has also been recognized. In 2006 he received an Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching and a Harlan Hatcher Memorial Award for Excellence in Teaching, Research, and Service; in 2007 he became a Distinguished University Professor, one of only 22 Ohio State faculty who hold this title, the university’s highest honor.



Geoffrey Parker



RESEARCH

Research by Endowed Professors

Alexander Stephan



Alexander Stephan

Alexander Stephan is an Ohio Eminent Scholar, professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, and Senior Fellow at the Mershon Center. He has written widely on such topics as public diplomacy (European-American relations, American culture and anti-Americanism in Europe); history (Cold War, FBI surveillance of German writers, Third Reich); culture and area studies (migration and exile, German cultural relations with Eastern Europe, Marxist aesthetics); and German literature in historical context.

Stephan is author or editor of some 25 books and has written more than 100 articles, book chapters, and essays published in Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

This academic year Stephan has published three new books:

- *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945* (Berghahn Books, 2006)
- *America on my mind. Zur Amerikanisierung der deutschen Kultur seit 1945* [America on My Mind. The Americanization of German Culture After 1945], ed. with Jochen Vogt (Fink, 2006)
- *Überwacht. Ausgebürgert. Exiliert. Schriftsteller und der Staat* [Observed, Expatriated, Exiled: Writers and the State] (Aisthesis, 2007)

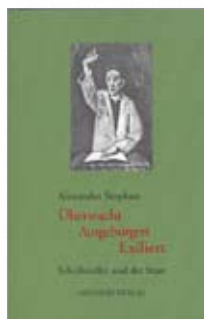
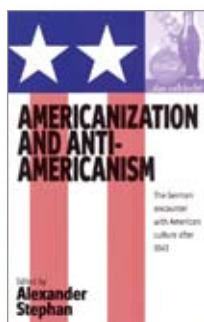
The Americanization of Europe, edited by Stephan, explores the role of American culture and anti-Americanism in 11 European countries. Stephan's introduction examines the "culture clash" between the United States and Europe, as well as adaptations and blending processes in various countries. Each contributor addresses four topics: the role of American public diplomacy; the transfer of American high culture; the impact of popular culture such as Hollywood movies, television, and pop music; and the history of anti-Americanism.

America on My Mind continues many of the same themes with a focus on Germany. It investigates Germany as a case study for the role American culture can play in an area of the world unsettled by totalitarian systems, two unusually destructive wars, massive ethnic cleansing, and economic disaster.

Observed, Expatriated, Exiled is a collection of articles authored by Stephan that analyzes the interaction of writers with various political systems, including Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, the divided and re-united Germany, and the United States. It focuses on the FBI surveillance of German exiled intellectuals, persecution of leftist writers by the Nazi bureaucracy, the confining relationship between writers and the socialist state, and the cultural rift between the United States and Europe after September 11.

Stephan has two current projects. The first is the concluding volume in his Americanization series, *American Culture and Anti-Americanism in the World*. This book compares the impact of American culture in 25 key countries in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific by examining U.S. cultural diplomacy, high-brow culture, popular culture, and anti-Americanism. A key premise is that in an era of globalization, international security is determined not only by political, military, and economic factors, but also by our understanding of cultural differences.

The second project, *What's the Matter With America? Left Behind, Popular Culture, Religious Fundamentalism and Politics in the United States at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, examines the wider context of the *Left Behind* series of novels as a cultural manifestation of the religious right. Topics include a fundamentalist interpretation of American popular culture, its impact on the foreign policy of the Bush administration, and a specific view of Israel. The project created considerable interest in Germany, where Stephan gave a one-hour TV lecture.



Mershon Center Associate

Sean Kay

Sean Kay is professor and chair of the International Studies program at Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, as well as Mershon associate, providing research analysis, guest speaker programs, and long-term planning with the center's leadership.

Kay specializes in international security, globalization, international organization, and U.S. foreign and defense policy. His books include:

- *Global Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Quest for Power and the Search for Peace* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006)
- *Security Governance in Eurasia*, ed. with James Sperling and S. Victor Papacosma (Manchester University Press, 2003)
- *NATO After 50*, ed. with S. Victor Papacosma and Mark Rubin (Scholarly Resources, 2001)
- *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1998)

Kay is also author of more than 40 journal articles, book chapters, and book reviews. His work has appeared in such journals as *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Current History*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, and *Security Dialogue*.

His most recent publications include:

- "NATO and Counterinsurgency: Tactical Asset or Strategic Liability?" (*Contemporary Security Policy*, 2007)
- "Beyond European Security: Europe, the United States, and NATO," in *Europe Today: A Twenty-first Century Introduction*, ed. by Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones (3rd ed., Rowman and Littlefield, 2007)

Kay also speaks widely about international affairs at academic and professional associations. This year he was a discussant on a panel about NATO at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association; served on a panel on "Rethinking the U.S. Military Revolution" at the national meeting of the Stanley Foundation; was a member of a working group on

"The United States and the Rules of Global Order" at the International Institute for Strategic Studies; and spoke on "NATO and Afghanistan" at the Royal Military College, Queen's University, and University of Toronto Munk Centre in Canada.

Kay was also interviewed regularly by the media this year about international affairs, including Reuters, Agence-France Presse, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Toronto Star*, *Los Angeles Times*, and several appearances on Ohio State's *Open Line with Fred Andrie*.

Kay's current projects include:

- An introduction to a book about NATO's future, based on a conference held in April 2007 at the Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies at Kent State University
- "Terrorism as a Global Issue" in *Introducing Global Issues*, ed. by Michael T. Snarr and D. Neil Snarr (4th ed., Lynne Rienner, forthcoming)
- A book review of Colin Dueck's *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy for Contemporary Security Policy* (forthcoming)

Kay was also a Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, where he began a project on "Education as a Relative Gains Problem in National Security: Understanding the U.S.-China Strategic Balance." His research included visits to the U.S. Air Force Academy and the Naval Post-Graduate School.

Besides serving as Mershon associate, Kay is a nonresident fellow in foreign and defense policy at the Eisenhower Institute in Washington; member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies; and member of the editorial board of *Contemporary Security Policy*. He is featured in *Who's Who in America* and *Who's Who among America's Teachers*. He was the first recipient of the Libuse L. Reed Endowed Professorship at Ohio Wesleyan, where this year he was promoted to full professor.



Sean Kay

A U.S. Marine aims down a street while next to a vegetable stand during an operation by Marines with the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment in the eastern section of Fallujah, Iraq, on March 26, 2004. (Photo by Hayne Palmour, *North County Times*, who was embedded with Marines from Camp Pendleton, California, with Mershon Center journalist in residence Darrin Mortenson.)

INSET: Iraqi Civil Defense Corps soldiers and Iraqi policemen dismount from a Marine humvee during three days of training by the Marines of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment at a base near Fallujah, Iraq, on March 29, 2004. (Photo by Hayne Palmour, *North County Times*, who was embedded with Marines from Camp Pendleton, California, with Mershon Center journalist in residence Darrin Mortenson.)





Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Rentier States and International Terrorism in Ecological Focus

Principal Investigators:

Edward Crenshaw, J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology

From 1981 to 2001, more than 9,500 acts of international terrorism were committed, killing almost 18,000 people. Explanations for this political violence have been varied. Some argue that rapid development creates social disorganization, thereby encouraging conflict. Others say states that exhibit partial repression and fiscal weakness foster violence by stoking discontent but not snuffing it out or providing a legitimate outlet.

Studies that test these different theories have produced mixed results at best. In this project, Edward Crenshaw and J. Craig Jenkins hope to articulate a more unified theory that links political economy with international terrorism. To do this, they examine “rentier states,” or states that rely on extraction and export of natural resources such as oil for revenue.

Preliminary evidence shows that rentier states are prone to producing international terrorism. Using OPEC nations as a rough proxy for rentier states, one can compare the number of terrorist casualties caused by perpetrators from OPEC and non-OPEC nations. Since 1968, the share of OPEC-originated casualties has increased substantially.

To test this hypothesis, Crenshaw and Jenkins are conducting two sets of analyses. First, they are creating an index of rentier states using data about extractive exports, public ownership, and type of industry (oil, coal, aluminum, etc.). These data are available from entities such as the World Bank, polity datasets, and industry publications.

Next, they are using the International Terrorism, or ITERATE, database to determine the share of international terrorist acts and their lethality caused by actors from rentier states. This database provides information on the nationality of attackers, number of casualties, nationality of targets, and location of all international terrorist attacks from 1968 to 2003.

While Crenshaw and Jenkins do not expect to find a direct causal relationship between rentier states and international terrorism, they do anticipate mediated effects through such variables as a centralized state economy and state repression and militarization. Information from this study can be used to shape U.S. diplomatic and military strategies.



Edward Crenshaw



J. Craig Jenkins

RESEARCH

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Ostpolitik and Israel, 1966–74

Principal Investigator:

Carole Fink, Department of History



Carole Fink

When Willy Brandt became West Germany's foreign minister in 1966 and its chancellor in 1969, he instituted a bold new policy called *Ostpolitik*. Literally translated as “Eastern politics,” *Ostpolitik* referred to Brandt's efforts to normalize relations with the Soviet Union, East Germany, and the other Eastern European states. Brandt's goal was to end confrontation across the Iron Curtain and peacefully overcome Europe's divisions.

Ostpolitik transformed international relations not only in Europe, but also around the world. Perhaps nowhere did the changes create more anxiety than in Israel, which had enjoyed a special relationship with the Bonn government for 15 years. In this book, Carole Fink plans to explore the transformation of this important relationship between 1966 and 1974.

Before 1966, West Germany had declared a “special responsibility” toward Israel based on the dark legacy of the Third Reich, a shared dependency on the United States, and a shared hostility from the Soviet Union. With the advent of *Ostpolitik*, however, West Germany's policy toward Israel underwent a sea change.

Although Brandt never renounced his bonds with Israel, West Germany sought a policy of

“evenhandedness” in the Middle East. It declared neutrality during the 1967 and 1973 wars, championed Palestinian rights, and called for Israel to withdraw from the conquered territories.

In implementing this new detente, Fink says, West Germany was not rejecting Israel but pursuing its own national interests. Bonn needed an undisrupted oil supply, which required a stable Middle East. It also sought to do business with the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe. Finally, it was responding to internal pressures demanding sympathy for the “victims of U.S. and Israeli imperialism.”

Until now, most literature on *Ostpolitik* has been divided between critiques of Brandt's “appeasement” and endorsements of his efforts to erode the Iron Curtain. Meanwhile, most writing about West Germany's role in the Middle East has been limited to a debate over pragmatism vs. idealism.

Fink hopes to write a balanced history that enlarges our understanding of *Ostpolitik* and West Germany's role in the Middle East. In doing so, her book will unite the history of Central Europe during the Cold War with the contemporary history of the Middle East, linking the heir to the Third Reich with the homeland of its victims.

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Passport: Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Principal Investigators:

Peter Hahn, Mitch Lerner, Department of History

Since 1969, the *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter* has provided a forum for the discussion of issues related to the practice of American diplomacy, while also presenting historians of U.S. foreign policy with a reliable source of professional information.

In 2003, the newsletter was renamed *Passport*, and editorship passed to Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner, with support from the Mershon Center. *Passport*'s purpose is:

- To print essays on substantive issues related to the study of American diplomacy, particularly those focusing on newly opened archival materials.
- To host debates among scholars.
- To offer detailed information regarding new publications, scholarly competitions and awards, calls for papers and contributions, and other relevant resources.

During the 2006–07 academic year, *Passport* included such articles as:

- “The Case of the Disappearing Documents,” by William Burr, senior analyst at the National Security Archive, on efforts to reclassify

more than 25,000 government documents

- “Learning by Doing: Teaching the History of U.S. Foreign Relations with Original Documents,” by Matthew Loayza of Minnesota State University, with ideas on how it integrates primary source material into undergraduate courses
- “Foreign Policy and the Truman Administration: Historical Resources at the Harry S. Truman Library,” by Randy Sowell, archivist at the Truman Library
- “Clio and Me: The Story of a Diplomatic Historian Who Became Provost,” by Michael J. Hogan, Executive Vice President and Provost at the University of Iowa
- Roundtable reviews of important recent books such as *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam* by Gareth Porter, and *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* by Victoria de Grazia

In producing *Passport*, Hahn and Lerner aspire to provide historians of American diplomacy with a forum that educates them about the field, the profession, and the fundamental issues surrounding U.S. foreign policy in the international arena.



Peter Hahn



Mitch Lerner



RESEARCH

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

The Dissent/Repression Nexus in the Middle East

Lead Institution:

The Ohio State University

Principal Investigators:

Katherine Meyer, Department of Sociology
J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology
Phil Schrodtt, University of Kansas
Mary Ann Tétreault, Trinity University
Jillian Schwedler, University of Maryland
Christian Davenport, University of Maryland
Deborah Gerner, University of Kansas (deceased)

Consultants:

Helen Rizzo, American University, Cairo
Nazek Nosseir, American University, Cairo



Katherine Meyer



J. Craig Jenkins

The Middle East is often seen as caught in a cycle of dissent and repression, influencing almost all aspects of existence. This “dissent/repression nexus” is crucial because the Middle East lies at the crossroads of three continents, contains vast natural resource reserves, and has spread conflicts to other parts of the world.

Despite the importance of understanding contention in the Middle East, there has been little systematic study of conflict dynamics in the region. Most research has used one of a handful of methodologies—event analysis, field research, or social surveys. Each of these studies leaves out important aspects of the dissent/repression nexus.

To address these gaps, an interdisciplinary, multi-university team has set out to study the dissent/repression nexus in the Middle East. Some of their questions include:

- How do dissent and repression influence one another?
- What kinds of repression produce what kinds of dissent, and vice versa?
- How are conflicts influenced by economic and political globalization?

The project focuses on several important Middle East countries—Egypt, Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey—from 1990 to the present. It examines the process of transformational change, the relationship between individual and social action, and the implications of cultural variation for conflict.

The team has just completed the second year of the project. This has included in-depth surveys in each country with multiple sources of data, event data analysis, and content analysis of newspapers using Lexis-Nexis. A conference at the Mershon Center highlighting the team’s work was held on July 31, following a five-week workshop of intensive study.

Essential to the project has been the work of 17 graduate and undergraduate students who each examined one country in depth, focusing on the mechanisms and explanatory theories of repression and dissent in the 1990s. From these case studies, four overarching themes have emerged:

- The importance of rentier states, or states that receive substantial income from oil, foreign aid, or tourism
- The size and outmigration of Palestinian and Kurdish populations, creating highly mobilized diaspora communities
- The significance of the 1990–91 Gulf War, which transformed political opportunities and transnational networks among activists
- The central role of technological and social networks that accompany globalization

The project is supported by a three-year, \$585,000 grant from the National Science Foundation’s Human Social Dynamics program on Agents of Change, as well as grants from Ohio State’s College of Social and Behavioral Sciences and the Mershon Center.

Several articles that discuss results of the study are under review for publication. For more information,

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

see the project web site at drnexus.osu.edu.

Project:

Symbolic Opposition to the USA Patriot Act: Protest by Local Governments

Principal Investigators:

Kazimierz Slomczynski, Department of Sociology,
with Ph.D. collaborators Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow

On January 7, 2002, the city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, passed a resolution criticizing the USA Patriot Act of 2001 and urging local authorities not to enforce parts of the law that conflict with civil liberties. Within months, a protest movement was born. By March 2005, almost 300 cities, 45 counties, and four states had passed similar resolutions, representing more than 40 million people or 13.5 percent of the U.S. population.

In this project, Kazimierz Slomczynski, Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow, and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow ask what prompts some local governments but not others to engage in such symbolic protest. While most research into protest examines meetings, demonstrations, and strikes by political outsiders against the state system, much less attention has been paid to protest by political insiders within state structures. Yet such protest can have great influence over national policy, including security policy.

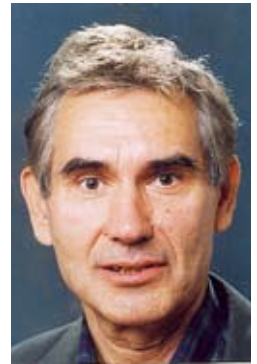
To examine the issue, Slomczynski and his collaborators built a dataset of 25,000 self-governing municipalities using Census data from 2000. They then identified communities that had passed resolutions criticizing the Patriot Act by using data from the Bill of Rights Defense Committee, an

organization that helps local governments pass anti-Patriot Act resolutions. Finally, they ran a series of analyses to determine how protesting municipalities were different from non-protesting ones.

Results supported the idea that local governments engaging in symbolic opposition were of a specific socio-political type. Specifically, places with large populations, high percentages of college educated adults, and large minority populations (including the presence of Arab ethnicity) were more likely to engage in protest.

Also highly correlated were places in states where Democratic candidate Al Gore won in 2000, supporting the hypothesis that political culture is a strong indicator. Finally, places in states where U.S. representatives had voted against the Patriot Act in 2000 were more likely to engage in protest, supporting the idea that symbolic opposition is encouraged by the actions of national political leaders.

Slomczynski and his collaborators plan to submit these results for publication as an article in a high-impact academic journal. Future research will examine the temporal and diffusion aspects of the phenomenon.



Kazimierz Slomczynski

RESEARCH

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Ethnic Violence Disaggregated: An Inquiry into the Forms of Violence in Russia

Graduate Student:

Richard Arnold, Department of Political Science



Richard Arnold, Ph.D. student
in political science

Why do different forms of ethnic violence occur? Ethnic violence in any form—lynching, pogrom, genocide—is a scourge. Yet are some types of violence visited upon some ethnic groups more than others? And if so, why?

These are some of the questions Richard Arnold set out to answer in his dissertation on ethnic violence in the former Soviet Union. Arnold decided to concentrate on Moscow, where separate attacks against Roma, Jews, and Caucasians have occurred.

Mershon Center funds allowed Arnold to take a pre-dissertation trip to Moscow to interview members of extremist groups and officials in far-right political parties.



A Russian skinhead displays the large swastika tattooed on his arm with the initials NS for National Socialist. Skinheads said they found the solidarity of minority groups threatening.

Members of extremist groups—who called themselves skinheads—told Arnold that they hated black people because they envied minority groups' greater sense of solidarity and found it threatening. Some wore National Socialist tattoos and argued that because government was by and for a specific people, it could not serve minority groups—though the logic did not seem to apply to white foreigners from industrialized nations.

Officials in the far-right political parties—Slavic Union, National Bolshevik Party, National Great Power Party of Russia, Russian Union of Patriots, and National Nation Party—echoed many of the same beliefs. Most were blatantly anti-Semitic, saying Jews were too powerful or were even committing genocide against Russians. All looked to the history of Nazi Germany as a source of inspiration.

The trip helped Arnold lay the foundation for a more systematic test of the idea that the type of ethnic violence is correlated with the perpetrators' beliefs about the victims.

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Fighting “Real” Wars: The Timing and Content of Wartime Political Decisions

Graduate Student:

Thomas Dolan, Department Political Science

When do events in a war spur leaders to make decisions about the war? Why do leaders choose a certain strategy for a war, and what causes them to change their minds? What do they think motivates the enemy, and what is the role of public opinion?

In his dissertation, Thomas Dolan argues that leaders have a “theory of victory” consisting of two parts: what action they think their state needs to take to make the opponent back down, and whether they think their state is capable of doing this.

In order to test his hypothesis, Dolan’s dissertation examines three wars that were all part of World War II: the Pacific Theater war between the United States and

Japan (1941–45), the invasion of France by Germany (May–June 1940), and the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union (1939–1940).

In looking through these cases, Dolan identifies the leaders’ theories of victory and traces the outcome of the operations. For example, the military operation might succeed or fail, casualties might be taken, the enemy might break through the lines and force retreat, the opponent might change his aims, or a third party might intervene.

Then, Dolan identified how these events influenced the decision of state leaders. Did they change the state aims for the war? Did they communicate new aims to the enemy? Did they keep the same aims but change strategy? Did their theories of victory change?

To conduct this research, Dolan needed access to materials at several archives. Mershon Center funding allowed him to travel to the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, and the National Archives in Washington, D.C. In both places he found a great deal of unpublished information about decision making processes at the end of World War II.



Thomas Dolan, Ph.D. student in political science



Thomas Dolan worked with several professionals at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri, including (left to right) archivist Randy Sowell, library technician Liz Safly, and director Michael Devine.

RESEARCH

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

Invasion as a First and Last Resort: Europe in the 16th Century

Graduate Student:

Denice Fett, Department of History

Historians writing about international relations in the 16th century typically emphasize the use of military force. Yet, Denice Fett argues that this

is when other aspects of modern diplomacy began, such as exerting economic, religious, and political pressure.

In her dissertation, Fett aims to integrate all facets of international relations into a coherent picture of the development of modern diplomacy in the 30 years between France and Spain's plan to conquer England in 1558 and England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

Her study will focus on relations among the major Western European nations—England, France, Spain, Scotland, Portugal, and the Papacy—and will examine the logistics of diplomacy such as policy creation, communication with representatives and ambassadors, and the use of force to support policy goals.

As part of this project, Fett needed to do historical research in multiple archives. Funding from the Mershon Center allowed her to visit the British Library in London, National Archives in Kew, National Library of Scotland, and Kenilworth Castle outside Coventry.

In these archives Fett found several important documents, including:

- Private letters of several ambassadors that had never been published, as well as corrections to political and diplomatic policies that had been published
- A series of letters and a treatise written by a Florentine diplomat entrusted by both Queen Elizabeth I and French King Henri II during negotiations to end a war
- A 12-part treatise by John Leslie, ambassador of Mary Queen of Scots, highlighting the role of ambassadors, their goals, dangers, and restrictions

Fett's next step is to do research in French and Spanish archives to complete the picture of the development of modern diplomacy in the 16th century.



Denice Fett, Ph.D. student in history, stands in the ruins of Kenilworth Castle outside Coventry, England, which houses letters between Queen Elizabeth I and her close friend Robert Dudley.

Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

The Geography of Terrorism: Vulnerability and Perceived Threat

Graduate Student:

Jason VanHorn, Department of Geography

In July 2006, the Department of Homeland Security released a terror target list called the National Asset Database—and itself became the target of jokes. Among the 77,069 sites listed were Old MacDonald's Petting Zoo, a Kangaroo Conservation Center, Jay's Sporting Goods, several Wal-Marts, Amish Country Popcorn, and the Sweetwater Flea Market.

One reason the list was so controversial is that vulnerability science—or the ability to forecast which areas are truly vulnerable and which are not—is still in its infancy. Jason VanHorn's dissertation contributes to this emerging field by using a mixed-method approach that combines quantitative analytic modeling with qualitative survey analysis.

One of the main goals of VanHorn's research was to survey residents in Columbus, Ohio, to find out how they perceived the threat of terrorism. Columbus was chosen because it was accessible and is demographically representative of the U.S. population.

Funds from the Mershon Center allowed VanHorn to conduct the survey. Thousands of postcards were mailed to randomly selected addresses, and tickets to sporting events were offered as incentive to participate. A survey of more than 50 questions was made available online, and almost 600 people took part.

Results allowed VanHorn to develop a threat profile of Columbus. For example, when given a list of cities and asked how likely they were to be attacked in the next

few years, Columbus residents said New York and Washington were given a high chance, Chicago and Los Angeles were labeled likely, while Columbus was rated average or unlikely.

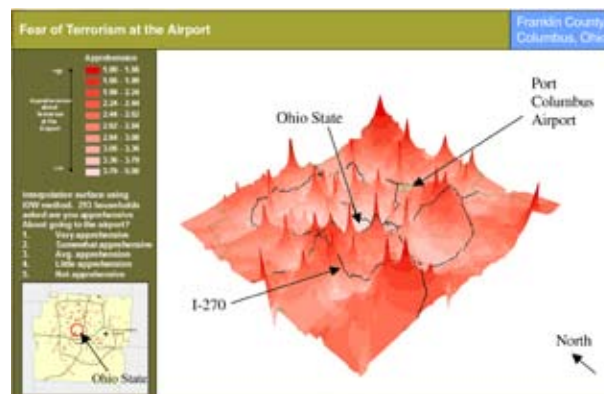
When asked if terrorists did attack Columbus what the most likely targets would be, 73 percent said stadiums, more than airports at 59 percent, shopping centers at 49 percent, and tall buildings at 40 percent—all of which have actually been targeted in Columbus and elsewhere.

Finally, by asking if residents were apprehensive about going to the airport because of fear of terrorism, and then plotting responses geographically, VanHorn was able to create a three-dimensional "fear map" of Columbus. The map showed that people in the area around The Ohio State University tend to have less fear about going to the airport, perhaps because they have higher levels of education.

VanHorn will combine the results of his survey on perceived threat with a spatial model that creates a vulnerability index based on human and technological threats.



Jason VanHorn, Ph.D. student in geography, created this "fear map" of Columbus, Ohio, showing that people who live in the area around The Ohio State University tend to have less fear about going to the airport, perhaps because they have higher levels of education.



Thousands of secular Turks wave national flags as they fill the waterfront in the coastal city of Izmir as they gather to protest the Islamist-rooted government on May 13, 2007. Mershon senior faculty fellow Carter Findley is writing a book about the role of Islam and secularism in the history of modern Turkey. (Photo by Burak Kara/Getty Images)





Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

Turkey: Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity

Principal Investigator:

Carter V. Findley, Department of History

***Turkey: Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity* examines Turkey's transition from Ottoman empire to nation-state.** From 1789 to the present, Carter V. Findley argues, the Turks triangulated over time in relation to three reference points: Islam, nationalism, and modernity.

Choices among these reference points led to the rise of two strategies for engaging with modernity: a radical, secular current of fast, disruptive change and a conservative, Islamic current of slow, adaptive change. As the Turks negotiated their transition from a multinational, Islamic empire to a Turkish nation-state, the two currents interacted to shape modern Turkish society.

The radical current was closely associated with the formation of new civil and military elites and the rise of "print capitalism," symbolized by the emergence in 1860 of privately owned, Turkish-language print media. The radicals engineered the Young Turk revolution of 1908 and ruled the republic for two generations. They still retain powerful positions and have made secularism into a lasting "belief system."

The conservative current was expressed in a series of Islamic religious movements, somewhat comparable to the "Great Awakenings" in the early United States. Most influential were movements launched by Shaykh Khalid al-Naqshbandi (1777–1826), Said Nursi (1873–1960), and Fethullah Gülen (1938–). Powerful under the Ottoman Empire, Islamic conservatives did not again control Turkish government until the 1980s. However, their movement had great cultural significance throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although the radical movement has been extensively studied, the conservative one has been less so, and the interaction between the two has not. Findley's book differs from previous studies in that it sees the history of Turkey not as an evolution from religion and autocracy toward secularism and nationhood, but as a dialectical interaction between two powerful forces that interacted across time to shape Turkish history.



Carter V. Findley

RESEARCH

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

The Marxist Rhetoric: On the Relationship of Practice and Theory

Principal Investigator:

Richard Hamilton, Research Associate, Mershon Center



Richard Hamilton

Marxism had a significant impact on events in the 20th century. It was the official ideology of Russia and China, as well as nations in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The theory also had resonance in intellectual circles in the capitalist nations of the West.

The success of the Marxist doctrine poses an important question: Given the failure of its major propositions, the persistence of capitalism, and the absence of working-class revolutions in capitalist countries, how did Marxism gain such wide influence?

In this project, Richard Hamilton sets out to answer this question by considering three things. First, he assesses the major propositions of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Second, he reviews Marx and Engels' political activities to test their arguments about theory and practice. Finally, he examines subsequent analyses of Marx and Engels' work.

One important aspect of Marxism is its argument that theory is derived from direct involvement in political movements and events. Such involvement is said to provide knowledge, insights, and understandings not available to the distant observer.

Hamilton tests this argument by assessing Marx's life in Marxian terms and finds many troubling issues: Marx did not grow up in the working class, and he was in the top 10 percent of income earners for most of his adult life. Marx also received financial support from "the bourgeoisie" to edit his radical newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Hamilton also tests the relationship between Marxist theory and practice by examining the 1848 revolutions in France and Germany. Events in both cases include a wide range of unexpected contingencies. Had Marx and Engels taken this into account, Hamilton says, they would have needed to issue a sweeping revision of their theory early on.

With these failures in mind, Hamilton attempts to explain the wide acceptance of Marxist claims throughout the 20th century. The answer, he says, lies not in the theory itself, but in the way it is disseminated as people vouch for it, political parties adopt it, and academics and journalists embrace it. Hamilton draws on social psychology, conformity studies, and theories of cognitive dissonance to explain this persistence.

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

Race Frontiers: Indian Slavery in Colonial New England

Principal Investigator:

Margaret Newell, Department of History

Historians of racial slavery in America generally focus on the encounter between Europeans and Africans, especially in the South. Yet, Native Americans represented a majority of those enslaved by European colonists in much of North America through the early 18th century.

In her project *Race Frontiers: Indian Slavery in Colonial New England*, Margaret Newell reconstructs this history of slavery and its devastating impact on Native Americans in New England.

The issues she examines have present-day analogies ranging from ethnic cleansing in Europe and Africa to enslavement in Sudan. They also speak to questions of ideas and identities and their impact on security policy, as colonists imposed racial identities on Indians as a means of social control.

Standard accounts stress the primacy of family labor among the Puritans, but the reality is that colonists bound thousands of Indian men, women, and children into servitude. Indian slavery was both an economic strategy—white colonists relied on Indian labor—and a way to assert control over a Native American population that lived near white settlements.

Newell's book examines the ideological and legal processes by which New England settlers came to sanction the slavery of native inhabitants. The colonists invoked a "just war" argument for taking Indian slaves during the Pequot War of 1637 and King Philip's War in 1676.

Even outside of wartime, colonists sought to convert Indians into servants. From 1636 to 1700, New Englanders enslaved 2,000 Native Americans and sentenced hundreds more to long terms of servitude. By the mid-18th century, one-third of Indians in southern New England lived in white households as servants or slaves.

Newell also explores changes in enslavement from 1680 to 1760. With victory in King Philip's War, colonists succeeded in establishing sovereignty over Indians in southern New England. Although new laws banned enslavement and regulated servitude, both persisted. Most notably, judicial enslavement—or sentencing Native Americans to long periods of involuntary servitude for debt or criminal infractions—became prevalent.

At the same time, colonists created a "race frontier" that stripped people of color—Indians, Africans, and people of mixed race—of rights enjoyed by whites.

Besides publishing a book, Newell hopes to organize a conference at the Mershon Center on America's treatment of prisoners and non-combatants during wartime.



Margaret Newell



This drawing depicts Metacomb, also known as King Philip, leader of the Wampanoag Indians during the war of 1675–76.

RAn-away the Last Spring from her Master John Otis Esqr. of Barnstable, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, an Indian Girl named Hannah Wapuck, aged about 20 years, middle-sized, full faced, a comely Countenance; she speaks good English, not very perfect of the Indian Language; had on English Apparel: Whosoever shall apprehend and take up the said Servant, and deliver her to her said Master, or give any true Intelligence, of her unto John Campbell Postmaster, of Boston, or unto her said Master, so as that he may have her again, shall be sufficiently rewarded, besides all reasonable Cost and Charges paid.

This advertisement from a Massachusetts newspaper offers a reward for the return of a runaway Indian slave girl named Hannah Wapuck.

RESEARCH

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

Preparing for Dawn: The Global Politics of Palestinian Resistance, 1967–1975

Graduate Student:

Paul Chamberlin, Department of History

Paul Chamberlin began with a research project on religious fundamentalism in the Middle East in the 1960s. He had planned to focus on the Muslim Brotherhood, a worldwide Islamist movement that promotes the Koran as the basis for society.

Chamberlin used his Mershon funds to travel to Syria and Jordan for research and study of Arabic. However, the Israeli attack on Lebanon forced American students across the region to evacuate. He ended up in Cairo for two weeks before flying to the United States.

Chamberlin's experience made him rethink his project plans. Throughout the course of his research, the issue of the Palestinians became increasingly relevant,

and his interactions with the people of three Middle Eastern countries brought him to the conclusion that it really is the fundamental issue for the region.

Thus, Chamberlin's current research focuses on the rise of the Palestinian liberation movement between 1967 and 1975. He sees the Palestinian armed struggle not only as a crucial episode in their search for state, but also as an important turning point in 20th-century world history. It exposed the widening gap in the international system between North and South and demonstrated the growing influence of non-state actors.

Although the Palestinians were defeated by Israeli and Jordanian military forces, they achieved important victories at the United Nations and support from non-aligned nations. By winning the battle for international public opinion, the Palestinians transformed themselves from a group of Arab refugees into a legitimate national liberation movement. Their decision to abandon state-centered Arab nationalism in favor of transnational guerilla warfare redefined the nature of power and resistance in world politics.

By approaching the Palestinian story from an international perspective, Chamberlin's study will paint a multi-dimensional picture of post-colonial nationalism during the Cold War that speaks to the growing importance of transnational actors in global politics and sheds light on the magnitude of the North-South divide in the world order.



Paul Chamberlin, Ph.D. student in history, sits at a Lebanese restaurant called Maroush in the Mohandiseen neighborhood of Cairo. Patrons can enjoy an after-dinner hookah at most restaurants that serve traditional Middle Eastern food in Egypt.

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

A Clash of Cultures: Gender and Imperialism in 19th-Century Georgia

Graduate Student:

Kristin Collins, Department of History

When Russian officials asked Sheikh Shamil, a 19th-century leader against Russian rule in the Caucasus, if they could take pictures of his wives, the sheikh readily agreed so long as a woman operated the camera. Why did Russian officials ask to take pictures, and why did Shamil, a man who generally fought the Russians, agree to their request?

The answer lies in each side's gendered notions of the other. The Russians wanted to use the photos as propaganda about the plight of Muslim women to justify their expansion in the Caucasus. The sheikh, meanwhile, didn't want any pictures taken and asked for a female photographer because he thought the Russians could not find a woman capable of using a camera.



Dancers perform during a festival in the mountain village of Singhnagi in Georgia.

Encounters such as this show how gender lies at the heart of the Russian imperial mission in the Caucasus. In her dissertation, Kristin Collins studies this intersection, seeking to answer a series of questions:

- How was the imperial encounter between Russian and the Caucasus defined by gender norms in the 19th century?
- In what ways did gender structures for Russian men and women change as a result?
- How does the intersection of gender and empire in Tsarist Russia compare to that of Western Europe?

Collins explores these questions through charitable organizations, inheritance laws, marriage practices, questions of conversion, and criminal investigations involving rape, prostitution, female hostage taking, and bride price. She draws upon theories and methodologies from gender and women's studies, cultural history, and colonial studies.

Collins' research on gender and empire in 19th-century Russia will shed light not only on political and military events, but the cultural beliefs behind them. By understanding the colonial interactions between Russians and Caucasians, we will better understand the evolution of the region's identity, creating a better foundation for security policy.



Kristin Collins, Ph.D. student in history, stands in Roman ruins in Batumi, a city on the Black Sea in Georgia.

RESEARCH

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

The Role of Social Movements in the Democratization of the Sub-Saharan Post-Colonial State

Graduate Student:

Rohit Negi, Department of Geography

While its neighbors have experienced violence and war over the past two decades, Zambia has remained stable. Although it has all the ingredients of a failed African state—weak civil society, deep ethnic divisions, and declining incomes—democracy has been surprisingly resilient, with elections held since 1964. Rohit Negi wants to know why.

In answering this question, Negi focuses on the role of labor movements in Zambia, particularly in the copper mining region, which lies at the crossroads between

the urban and rural territories. In fully urban societies, labor movements are thought to put pressure on the state to enact social reforms for workers such as better wages and benefits.

In Zambia, however, capitalism has never grown outside certain enclaves such as mining areas, and even there, migrant farm labor and subsistence agriculture plays an important role in the economy. Zambian labor unions do play an important role, but they must negotiate between different ethnic groups and uneven economic development.

Mershon Center funds allowed Negi to make a pre-dissertation visit to Zambia to interview state officials, NGO representatives, and faculty at the University of Zambia, as well as go through documents at the National Archives.

He also traveled through the Copperbelt Province to speak with everyday Zambians about the presidential election then under way. Negi made more than 40 contacts, laying the foundation for completion of his dissertation.



Rohit Negi (center), Ph.D. student in geography, stands with two former mineworkers in Mufulira, in the Copperbelt Province of Zambia. Copperbelt voted overwhelmingly for the opposition party Patriotic Front, but the party in power, Movement for Multiparty Democracy, won last year's elections.

Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:

The “Anglosphere”: A Genealogy of an Identity in International Relations

Graduate Student:

Srdjan Vucetic, Department of Political Science

Why do some nations tend to stick together in world politics? Is it because they have common interests, the same type of government, or share a common threat? Or is it because they share a common identity, such as culture, language, and history?

Srdjan Vucetic considers this question by examining the “Anglosphere,” or the group of English-speaking nations that includes Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States. While the term is typically used to denote a coalition, alliance, or trading bloc among these states, it can also refer to their cooperation in international relations.

Vucetic has two research questions: How did the Anglosphere become possible, and what effects does it have on international relations? To answer these, his dissertation first traces the genealogy of the Anglosphere, or its changes and continuities in international politics over time. It then analyzes the influence of the Anglosphere on foreign policy.

In order to gauge the influence of the Anglosphere on foreign policy, Vucetic created a dataset in which he coded documents involving more than one country in the Anglosphere, such as treaties, declarations, government statements, and correspondence. He focused on a few periods of intense diplomatic

activity, including the turn of the 20th century, Venezuela crises, post-World War II settlements, Suez, and Vietnam.

Funding from the Mershon Center allowed Vucetic to travel to London to gain access to many of the documents he needed at the British Library and National Archives. After doing additional research in Australia, Vucetic plans to defend his dissertation in 2008.

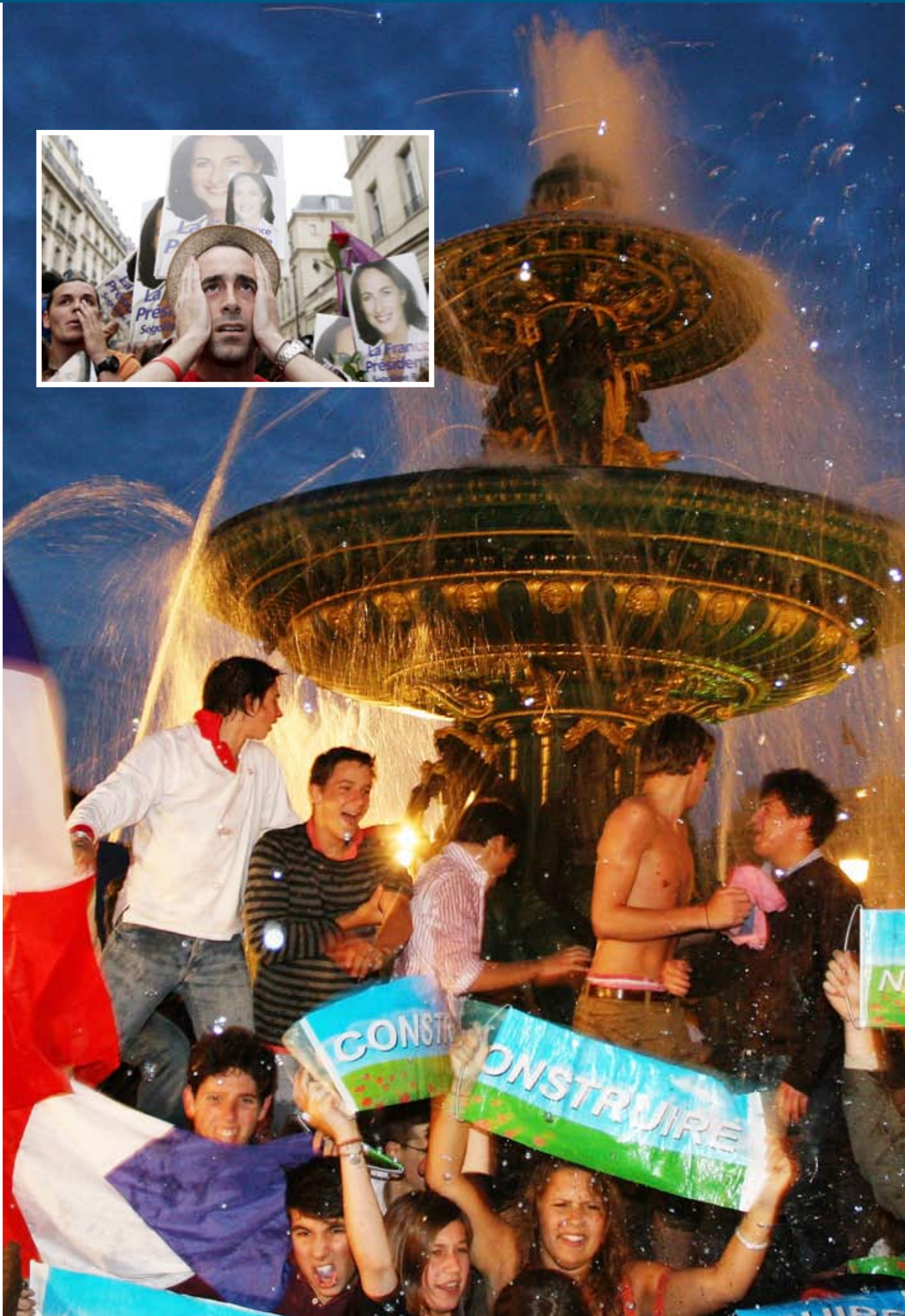


Srdjan Vucetic, Ph.D. student in political science, stands in front of the British Library branch in Colindale, northwest London, which houses the newspaper collection.



Supporters of conservative Nicolas Sarkozy celebrate his victory in the French presidential elections at La Place de la Concorde on May 6, 2007, in Paris. Voters turned out in record numbers to elect Sarkozy as their next president with 53 percent of the vote ahead of socialist candidate Segolene Royal. (Photo by Eric Bouvet/Getty Images)

INSET: Supporters of Socialist presidential candidate Segolene Royal react after the announcement of the first unofficial results of the French presidential elections at the Socialist Party headquarters, on May 6, 2007, in Paris. Mershon graduate student Delia Dumitrescu is writing her dissertation on the role of political posters in French elections. (Photo by Francois Durand/Getty Images)





Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP)

Principal Investigator:

Richard Gunther, Department of Political Science

Promoting democracy has become a major theme in U.S. diplomacy. How democracies work and elections function, however, remain pressing questions.

The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) is a multi-year, multi-country examination of how citizens in democracies around the world receive information about policies, parties, candidates, and politics during the course of election campaigns.

The project began in the late 1980s as a series of surveys in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan. It was expanded in 1993 to include eight more countries in South America, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and East Asia, and to include questions about support for democracy in newly emerging or re-established democratic regimes.

CNEP has recently expanded again to include 24 national election surveys in 19 countries. It is now the third-largest international project of its kind. The survey has also been expanded to include questions about the quality of democracy and corruption in the electoral process; the nature and manifestation of identity in multi-cultural societies; and non-Western values that affect democracy or give rise to violent conflict.

Because CNEP collects so much information, its full potential could be realized only through a rigorously analytical and comparative collaboration of project participants. The Mershon Center has made this possible by supporting a series of conferences at the University of Cape Town, South Africa; the Mateus Foundation in Vila Real, Portugal; and the Yunnan Institute of Chinese Culture in Kunming, China.

Participants met in Trieste, Italy, in July 2007, and will likely meet in Mozambique in 2008. At the Trieste meeting, participants discussed data collected in each country to identify and explain cross-national themes and patterns.

So far CNEP has produced more than 100 book chapters and journal articles and six books, including *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents* (Oxford University Press, 2007), edited by Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle.

This book explores the nature and consequences of support for democracy, finding three distinct clusters of attitudes: democratic satisfaction, political disaffection, and democratic support. The authors find that support for democracy depends not on how well the economy is doing, as has commonly been argued, but on the behavior of key political elites during the crucial states of forming a democratic state. The book also analyzes the impact of “values cleavage” on electoral behavior, finding that politics in the United States has become more polarized by values than in any other country analyzed.

For more information, please see the project web site at cnept.ics.ul.pt.



Richard Gunther



Participants in the Comparative National Elections Project pose outside a Tibetan Buddhist lamasary just outside of Lijiang, China. The group met to discuss survey results in July 2006 at the Yunnan Institute of Chinese Culture in Kunming, China.

RESEARCH

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Violent Conflict, Environmental Degradation, and Food Security

Principal Investigators:

Fred Hitzhusen, Agricultural, Environmental, and Developmental Economics, with Ph.D. students Pierre Wilner Jeanty, Ayesha Enver, and Oana Lungu



Fred Hitzhusen

One major contributor to food insecurity is civil war and conflict. When fighting breaks out, crops cannot be planted, weeded, or harvested. Armies subsist by extorting food from unarmed populations and destroying what they don't use so their enemies can't have it. Farming populations flee, and men are recruited from families into militias.

This project builds on a study previously supported by the Mershon Center in which Fred Hitzhusen and Pierre Wilner Jeanty measured the effects of civil war and conflict, as well as a host of other variables, on food security in 71 developing countries from 1970 to 2002.

That study found conclusively that civil unrest and armed conflict are detrimental to food security, and that the effects are even more pronounced in countries where food intake is less than the standard set by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The current project will expand on this research in three ways. First, Jeanty plans to examine the effects of conflict on child malnutrition. Many contributors to child hunger have been discussed, including poverty, low levels of education, and poor health services. However, no one has focused on the effects of conflict and civil war. Jeanty plans to use datasets on child malnutrition and conflict, and then to make policy recommendations.

Second, Ayesha Enver plans to examine the relationship between environmental degradation and food security. Land degradation can lead to food insecurity not only by reducing agricultural productivity, but also by decreasing the ability of poor people to afford food. As pollution increases the incidence of disease, families are forced to spend more of their income on medical treatment, leaving them less able to pay for food.

Datasets from the United Nations contain numerous indicators of land degradation, such as rates of deforestation, pesticide use, drinking water availability, and threatened species. Enver will measure these indicators against data on violent conflict, food supply, and child hunger in a sample of 71 developing countries.

Finally, Oana Lungu plans to examine the relationship between child trafficking, armed conflict, and child hunger. In many countries, poverty, food insecurity, lack of employment, and civil unrest result in children being forced into various types of labor such as the carpet and garment industry, begging and prostitution, or drug smuggling.

Lungu plans to conduct a detailed literature review, develop a model to estimate the relationship between trafficking, forced child labor, child hunger, and armed conflict and to use data from the United Nations and other organizations to get preliminary estimates.

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

World Handbook of Political Indicators IV

Principal Investigators:

J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology; Charles Lewis Taylor, Virginia Polytechnic and State University; Marianne Abbott, independent scholar

The *World Handbook of Political Indicators* has been published by Yale University Press since 1963 to provide statistics and data to help scholars studying political processes and political change. While the handbook has been the dominant source for analyzing conflict and violence internationally, data collection for the last edition stopped in 1982.

In this fourth edition, J. Craig Jenkins and his team aim to bring the handbook current to 2003 and make the data available over the Internet. In the process, they have made several revolutionary changes that will prepare the handbook for 21st-century research.

First, Jenkins has used machine coding rather than human coding to boil down a decade of world events into a series of cross-national statistics. He has done this by working with Virtual Research Associates (VRA), a company formed by Harvard researchers, to develop a system for its automated data coder called Knowledge Management.

Second, Jenkins has expanded upon coding instruments used in previous editions of the *World Handbook* to encompass variables tracked by such widely used datasets as Conflict and Mediation Events Observations (CAMEO), Militarized Disputes (MID), and World Events Interaction Survey (WEIS).

In the case of *WH IV*, more than one million events covered by Reuters Business Briefs published from 1990–2003 were fed into the automated coder. The coder then analyzed these stories based on a framework of “*who does what to whom when and where.*”

This framework has allowed *WH IV* to track about 250 “event forms.” Examples include optimistic or pessimistic comments; meetings and discussions; praise, apologies, or promises; military, economic, or humanitarian aid; requests for help, action, or protection; proposals, refusals, accusations, complaints, demands, warnings, threats, demonstrations, or sanctions; arrests or abductions; assaults, riots, or weapons attacks; human illness and death; currency, prices, and payments; beliefs and values; and other events such as natural disasters, accidents, animal attacks, performances, and sports contests.

This expansion has led to several improvements to the *World Handbook*. For example, while *WH III* concentrated on state actors, *WH IV* includes data on non-state actors such as individuals, groups (including concepts like crowds), organizations (including corporations), and even non-human actors (such as diseases). Also, while *WH III* concentrated on political events, *WH IV* includes events in the social, environmental, and economic arenas, adding substantially to data about social conflict, particularly protests.

The main disadvantage to automated coding is that a computer does not recognize when multiple news stories are covering the same event over a period of time. Thus, human reviewers must go through the data to make sure significant or ongoing events are counted only once. The Mershon Center grant has supported this process in 2006–07.

Jenkins and his team expect that when the *World Handbook of Political Indicators IV* is published, it will become the international standard for civil conflict event research.



J. Craig Jenkins

RESEARCH

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Issues in Multi-Dimensional Legislative Bargaining: Collective vs. Particularistic Goods

Principal Investigators:

John H. Kagel, Department of Economics; Massimo Morelli,
Departments of Economics and Political Science



John H. Kagel

Whether it's the U.S. Congress debating the latest defense spending bill or the Iraqi parliament distributing oil revenues, one of the most important jobs of any legislature is to allocate government resources. Legislative bargaining models attempt to explain how legislators bargain with each other to allocate resources between competing needs.

To test these models, social scientists conduct legislative bargaining experiments in which players representing legislative parties make different proposals for splitting a finite budget and then bargain with each other until they come to an agreement.

In this project, John Kagel and Massimo Morelli examined legislative bargaining on two dimensions—particularistic or private goods that benefit one legislative district, and collective or public interest goods that benefit society as a whole. They also looked at various scenarios in which the legislators give public goods and private goods differing values.

Kagel and Morelli's experiments tested a model of legislative bargaining set forth by Allan Wiseman and Craig Volden, which had three predictions:

- If legislators place an extremely high value on public goods relative to private goods, then only public goods are provided.
- As legislators place greater value on private goods, the amount of public goods provided increases. Although counter-intuitive, this is predicted because in order for

legislative leaders to secure enough votes for their pet projects, they must provide more public goods for everybody else.

- If legislators place an extremely high value on private goods relative to public goods, then only private goods are provided to a coalition large enough to secure passage of the proposed legislation.

In their experiments, Kagel and Morelli found support for the model's first and third predictions; that is, their legislative bargainers ended up with only public or private goods if they placed an extremely high value on those goods.

However, Kagel and Morelli's experiments did not support certain elements of the model's second prediction. The reasons for the model's failure are explored, along with the implications for commonly used models of legislative bargaining. The experiment also has important implications for the "public goods" literature on economics.

Past Mershon funding of Kagel's legislative bargaining experiments has led to publication of four articles in top research journals. Kagel and Morelli presented results from this set of experiments at the Coalition Theory Network workshop in January 2007 and have submitted a paper reporting their results to a major research journal.



Massimo Morelli

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Tracking the Rise of China and India

Principal Investigator:

Edward J. Malecki, Department of Geography

Economic reform and market liberalization in China and India have brought about major shifts in the global economy. Although both countries embrace central planning, each aspires to be a major player on the world stage.

China's ambitions lie not only in science and high technology, but also in natural resources such as oil. India supplies services to global corporations in biotechnology and information technology. China's low-cost labor force is a magnet for foreign investment from around the world, while India's research facilities have attracted investment from Europe and the United States.

In this project, Edward J. Malecki will systematically track the growth of Chinese and Indian connections to the global economy. He will examine this growth through two dimensions: Chinese and Indian participation in global research and production networks, and the connections of the two countries and their major cities to the global Internet.

To carry out this research, Malecki will use information from three databases: Global Internet Geography 2006, International Bandwidth 2006, and Colocation 2006.

This project builds on a previous Mershon Center grant that allowed Malecki to carry out a large-scale study of the geography of submarine cables.

That study came to some surprising conclusions, including that China ranks sixth and India ninth in total bandwidth on submarine cables, surpassing such countries as France and Denmark.

These cables have allowed Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai to join Hong Kong as among Asia's best-connected cities. They have also given India new access to the Internet through direct connections to China and Singapore. Previously, India had relied solely on satellite, constraining its ability to participate in the digital economy.

The current project will lead to publication of two journal articles—one focusing on the telecommunications networks of India and China, and one surveying the two countries' participation in the global economy more broadly—as well as a coauthored book, *The Digital Economy: Business Organization, Production Processes and Regional Developments*, already under contract with Routledge.

It will also become the basis for Malecki's proposal to the National Science Foundation to study the shifts in economic and technological power among the nations of the world.



Edward J. Malecki

RESEARCH

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Segregation and Leadership in Groups

Principal Investigator:

Bruce Weinberg, Department of Economics



Bruce Weinberg

In societies made up of several groups, at what point do the cultural identities of one group become transformed by interactions with another? When do groups self-segregate, and what does it take for them to integrate?

Bruce Weinberg tackles these questions by examining the effect of overall size on sorting—that is, how big the overall society must get, and what the proportions of the groups must be, before groups start to self-segregate racially and ethnically.

To measure this, Weinberg used the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, a data set covering more than 90,000 students in grades 7 through 12 in 132 Chicago-area schools. Schools make a great laboratory to study social interactions because the information is well defined and consistent from one school to the next.

What Weinberg found was that homophily—or the tendency to associate with people similar to oneself—increases as the size of the school goes up. This holds true even if the percentage of people in a student's race remains very small, because if the absolute size of the school is large, there are simply more people in the student's own race to associate with.

These results could be considered quite surprising because conventional wisdom says that integration is best promoted when there are equal proportions of various racial and ethnic groups. However, Weinberg's study indicates transference of cultural values across groups is most likely to occur when there are so few members of the minority group that it will adopt the norms of the majority. As soon as the minority group has enough members to self-segregate, and even reject the values of other groups, that's what it will do.

Weinberg's findings have direct policy implications in any multicultural society such as Iraq, the Middle East, or the United States. For example, they explain the weak results of efforts like the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Moving to Opportunity program that places low-income people into middle-income areas. Rather than mixing with the wealthy residents of the new neighborhood, low-income residents tend to self-segregate, associating with those like themselves.

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Political Posters, Campaign Communications, and Democratic Integration

Graduate Student:

Delia Dumitrescu, Department of Political Science

Americans who get tired of seeing too many political commercials on television six months before an election might want to consider moving to France, where the most common vehicle of campaign communication isn't mass media but the political poster.

Using funds from the Mershon Center, Delia Dumitrescu spent spring 2007 in France studying the role of political posters in election campaigns. It was an especially good time, as one of France's most contested presidential elections in decades took place.

Dumitrescu had three hypotheses for why political posters are so important:

- Posters as substitute: They are used because candidates are banned from advertising over mass media.
- Posters for their own sake: They achieve campaign goals that no other form of communication can.
- Posters as integration tool: They can help integrate poor neighborhoods that withstood riots in 2005.

To test these hypotheses, Dumitrescu conducted a field study involving interviews with party officials from the Socialist Party, Union for a Popular Majority, Green Party, and Communist Revolutionary League Party. She also took pictures of posters from 31 constituencies in Paris during the first round of legislative elections.

Dumitrescu found some support for the "posters as substitute" hypothesis. Legislative candidates in particular used posters because they did not



Women walk by a building plastered with campaign posters in Paris prior to the May presidential election.

have access to the mass media, while presidential candidates had no problem getting media coverage.

However, there was more support for "posters for their own sake." One of the posters' primary functions was territorial control. Party leaders often tried to blanket an area with posters, covering up the posters of their opponents, in an effort to communicate their party's power. Another function was to enhance name recognition for the candidate.

Dumitrescu also found that posters were used most often in poor neighborhoods and that they were regarded differently. While candidates in rich neighborhoods saw posters as just another form of communication, those in poor neighborhoods saw them as a way to create a bond between themselves and their constituency.



Delia Dumitrescu

RESEARCH

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

The U.S.-Japan Alliance and Alliance Theory

Graduate Student:

Tong-Fi Kim, Department of Political Science

Why do two nations form an alliance? Standard theory suggests that nations ally with each other because they have a common enemy; in other words, forming alliances has more to do with countering adversaries than with making friends for friends' sake.

However, such theory is less applicable in a unipolar world where one superpower such as the United States holds sway. Other non-military considerations may play into the decision to form an alliance, such as trade, efficiency, and domestic concerns.



Tong-Fi Kim (right), Ph.D. student in political science, interviews Shunji Yanai, former Japanese ambassador to the United States and former vice minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during a Mershon-funded research trip to Japan in August 2006.

In his dissertation, Tong-Fi Kim argues that the U.S.-Japan alliance shows the quintessential exchange of military and non-military values. While the United States contributes military force, Japan provides foreign aid and international monetary management.

In order to observe perceptions about the U.S.-Japan alliance, Kim used a Mershon grant to travel to Japan to interview numerous government officials and scholar experts on the U.S.-Japan alliance. Among those he spoke with were Shunji Yanai, former ambassador to the United States; Tsuneo Nishida, current deputy minister for foreign affairs; and Masashi Nishihara, former president of the National Defense University.

All confirmed Kim's thesis that the U.S.-Japan alliance is an exchange of military and non-military values. However, they also mentioned two contradictory trends. As Japan has grown stronger since World War II, it has gained greater influence in the alliance. Yet at the same time, Japan has not needed the alliance as much, making it less profitable.

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Embedded Institutions: Incentives and Constraints on States as Joiners

Graduate Student:

Autumn Lockwood Payton, Department of Political Science

In July 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established to try defendants for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. While human rights advocates and international lawyers hailed its creation, it was created against the opposition of the United Nations Security Council, some of the world's strongest states.

How could a permanent ICC come into existence when the Security Council preferred to use ad hoc criminal tribunals over which it had greater control? Autumn Lockwood Payton explores this question in her dissertation, with two answers.

First, she argues, a coalition of small and middle powers that wanted the ICC used the U.N. General Assembly as a bargaining arena in which they could match their power to the great powers of the large nations. But second, and more important, Britain and France decided to act as a European Union bloc and relinquished their opposition.

For this reason, Payton argues, the European Union played a pivotal role in the creation of the International Criminal Court, and she needed to travel to EU headquarters in Brussels to find out more by interviewing key players and researching documents.

Mershon funds allowed her to do just that. Among others people, Payton interviewed an official who worked for former NATO Secretary General Javier



Autumn Lockwood Payton, Ph.D. student in political science, stands in front of the Arc de Triomphe in Brussels, Belgium, just around the corner from the Council of the European Union.

Solana and an official in the ICC working group. She also accessed materials in the EU libraries and Intranet.

Although preliminary, the research reinforced Payton's thesis that EU states do work together to influence the United Nations and Security Council on issues independent of the EU, such as the establishment of the International Criminal Court. The trip also gave Payton valuable insight into the workings of the EU and contacts for future research.

RESEARCH

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Missionaries of Modernization: The United States, Argentina, and the Liberal International Order, 1958–66

Graduate Student:

Dustin Walcher, Department of History



Dustin Walcher, Ph.D. student in history, stands outside the National Library in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

From 1958–66, three U.S. presidents and their allies in business and labor groups set out to mold Argentina's political and economic system in the American image. They were motivated by the challenge of Communism and encouraged by a sense of mission to spread the American way of life across the Western hemisphere.

Argentina seemed a good candidate for modernization because of its rich natural resources, European cultural heritage, and high literacy rates. But things did not go as planned. Elected leaders fell to military coups in 1962 and 1966, while U.S.-led austerity programs brought on popular protest, and U.S. oil companies provoked nationalism.

In his dissertation, Dustin Walcher examines these events, identifying several themes:

- The roots of U.S. support for development programs in Argentina, which can be traced to popular protest and the Cuban revolution of 1959.

- The role of non-state actors such as the AFL-CIO, which tried to influence labor unions in Argentina to accept American-style capitalism.
- The role of ideology in U.S. foreign policy, particularly the idea that American elites could transform Argentina into a bastion of liberal thought.
- The U.S. response to protest by Argentine citizens, which was seen as a threat to national security.
- U.S. policy toward political instability in Argentina. While Americans denounced the military coups, they were willing to work with the new regimes.
- Unsuccessful attempts by the elected governments of Argentina to foster economic development, maintain the confidence of the military, reintegrate Peron loyalists into the government, and satisfy patrons in Washington.

In order to complete his dissertation, Walcher needed access to archives not just in the United States, but also in Argentina. Mershon Center funding made possible a trip to Buenos Aires, where he visited archives in the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Ministry of the Economy, the National Library, as well as two organized labor archives.

This research will allow Walcher to tell a much more complete and nuanced story of the relations between the United States and Argentina, providing a cautionary and highly relevant tale that analyzes the limits of American power and the unforeseen consequences of attempts to remake the political and economic structures of another nation.



The Casa Rosada (literally the Pink House) is the government house in Argentina. Walcher did some of his research at this house.

Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:

Who Wins and Why? Lobbying and the Distribution of Resources in Russia

Graduate Student:

Sarah Wilson, Department of Political Science

Why do some groups get more money from the government than others? Why do some losing groups become winners, and vice versa? In other words, why do some groups lobby more successfully than others? Sarah Wilson focuses on these questions in the particularly puzzling case of post-Communist Russia.

In 2005, President Vladimir Putin established the Council for National Projects to allocate substantial funds for agriculture, education, health care, and housing. Yet before this, the government was thought to be “captured” by big business, and Putin was said to be centralizing power, making such a move to win public favor unnecessary.

Wilson cites two theories to explain why some interests are successful at getting money from the government:

- Electoral theories, which say that the party in power will implement certain policies in a bid to win support from voters. By this logic, Putin may have been looking toward elections in 2007–08.
- Lobbying explanations, which say groups demand resources from the government, which would not act without external pressure. For example, wealthy regions use informal channels to make sure they come out ahead in the Russian Budget Code.

In order to test these theories, Wilson needed to travel to Russia to interview government officials working with the Council for National Projects, as well as do research in newspaper archives in the Russian State Library and find detailed information about the Russian Budget Code. Funds from the Mershon Center allowed her to make this trip.



Sarah Wilson, Ph.D. student in political science, stands in front of Saratov State Agrarian University in Russia.

Wilson spoke with seven government officials, who gave her valuable insight into actual workings of the Russian government. Among other things, they emphasized the need for wage reform. Russians are usually paid two wages—one official and one unofficial—but only the official wages are taxed. These taxes fund the pension system, and until all wages are taxed, the problem of low monthly pensions cannot be addressed.

Wilson also accessed almost 50 secondary sources on health care and pension policy in Russia that she could not have found in the United States. These will provide a strong basis for a case study and help her develop hypotheses about the development of social policy that can be applied to other post-Communist and developing countries.





FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

BOOKS

Chadwick Alger, Professor of Political Science and Public Policy Emeritus
The United Nations System: A Reference Handbook (ABC-CLIO, 2006)

A malevolent conspiracy for one-world government or a force for peace and international harmony?

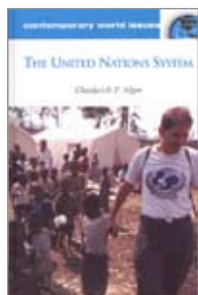
Few organizations are as widely misunderstood—or

influential—as the United Nations.

This guide lays bare its workings and assesses its track record in maintaining peace and human rights over the past 60 years. *The United Nations System* examines the continuing controversy that surrounds this organization.

Whereas conservatives accuse the United Nations of wavering in the face of gross violations of its own resolutions by Saddam

Hussein, many liberals have lambasted it for failing to take decisive action against genocide in the Balkans and in Rwanda. Highly readable and packed with useful facts and illustrations, this book is essential reading for those who wish to make up their own minds.



Carole Fink, Distinguished Humanities Professor of History

Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: The European and Global Response (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

Ostpolitik refers to the principle of change through rapprochement. German for “Eastern politics,” the term originated with West German Chancellor Willy Brandt’s efforts to normalize relations with East Germany and other East European states in the 1970s. *Ostpolitik* has influenced world politics; for example, South Korea’s “Sunshine Policy” toward North Korea takes a similar approach. This edited collection of essays, based on a conference held in spring 2006 at the Mershon Center, looks at how *Ostpolitik* has influenced international relations in Europe and around the world, including a consideration of the nuclear issue.

1956: European and Global Perspectives, ed. with Frank Hadler and Tomasz Schramm (Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006)

In post-war European history, the year 1956 was a marker of global change. This was the year of Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalin, the Polish and Hungarian revolutions, and the Sinai and Suez invasions and retreats. In the history of the Cold War, 1956 was one of the most violent years, when the Super Power rivalry—ideological, political, geopolitical, and military—affected every aspect of human life. On the other hand, global movements and a global



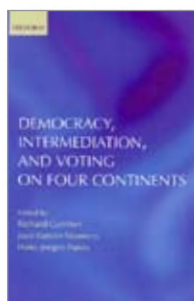
consciousness were developing. Even the most powerful nations, once the ultimate sources of power, wealth, and authority, faced a world of increasingly porous frontiers, which goods, people, and ideas—as well as the looming nuclear cloud—could penetrate. This volume assembles new scholarship based on original research that transcends national borders and provides a long-term perspective on the events of that epochal year.

Richard Gunther, Professor of Political Science
Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, 2007)

Based on results from the Mershon-supported Comparative National Elections Project, this book presents the results of systematic analyses of electoral

behavior and support for democracy in 13 countries on four continents. It is based on national election surveys held in Europe, North and South America, and Asia between 1990 and 2004. Its core concern is political intermediation, or the flow of information from parties and candidates to voters through mass media, membership in associations, and interpersonal networks. The book breaks

new ground by systematically exploring the impact of socio-political values on electoral behavior. It also analyzes the role of political intermediation in forming basic attitudes toward democracy and channeling those orientations into various forms of political behavior. Some of the findings are dramatic, clearly revealing that these channels of information are among the most powerful factors influencing political attitudes and partisan electoral behavior. So, too, are socio-political values in some countries, particularly the United States.



Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe, ed. with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri Sotiropoulos (Oxford University Press, 2007)

This volume analyzes the evolution of selected public policies and the changing roles and structure of the state in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain since the 1960s. It makes a major contribution to work on recent democratic regime transition in southern Europe, demonstrating how the state has responded and adapted to the challenges and pressures associated with the overarching processes of democratization, socio-economic development, and Europeanization.



FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

BOOKS (continued)

Partidos políticos: viejos conceptos y nuevos retos

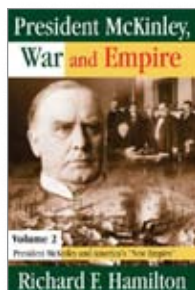
[Updated and revised Spanish-language edition of Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges], ed. by José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther, and Juan J. Linz (Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, 2007)

Several of the world's leading scholars present critical analyses (both conceptual and empirical) of important substantive themes on political parties in contemporary democracies. They critically re-examine the classic concepts and typologies that have guided research in this field over the past decades and explore new challenges faced by parties today.

Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus
of Sociology and Political Science

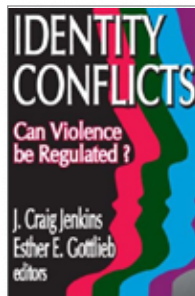
President McKinley, War and Empire, Vol. 2: President McKinley and America's 'New Empire' (Transaction Publishers, 2007)

While Vol. 1 of *President McKinley, War and Empire* considered the origins of the Spanish-American War, *President McKinley and America's 'New Empire'* is



concerned with the war's outcome, the settlement in which the United States gained an "empire." It begins by reviewing various expansionist episodes in U.S. history and examining the work of expansionist writers said to have "driven" the 1898–99 movement, finding these claims to be questionable. Hamilton assesses McKinley's decision making in regard to the settlement of the Spanish-American War and

reviews its achievements: the size and character of the new American "empire," the Philippine experience, and U.S. efforts in China—supposedly the prime goal of the new imperialism. Yet much American trade continued to be with Western Europe, while Canada became the nation's biggest trading partner. In much historical writing, McKinley is portrayed as a "front man" for Mark Hanna, the businessman who led his presidential campaign. Hanna certainly was important, but Hamilton finds McKinley was far more than a figurehead.



J. Craig Jenkins,
Professor of Sociology
Identity Conflicts: Can Violence Be Regulated? ed. with Esther Gottlieb (Transaction Publishers, 2007)

Conflict is ubiquitous and inherent in organized social life. This volume examines the origins and regulation of violent identity conflicts. The core question the authors address is how violence is regulated and the social and

political consequences of such regulation. One of the key findings is that conflicts involving religious, ethnic, or national identity are inherently more violence-prone and require distinctive methods of regulation. Identity is a question both of power and integrity. This means that both material and symbolic needs must be addressed in order to constrain or regulate these conflicts. This volume offers new ideas about the regulation of identity conflicts, at both the global and local level, that engage both tradition and modernization. It will be of interest to policymakers, political scientists, human rights activists, historians, and anthropologists.

Mei-Po Kwan, Professor of Geography
Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging, ed. with Cara Aitchison and Peter Hopkins (Ashgate Publishing, 2007)

In recent years, geographies of identities, including those of ethnicity, religion, race, and gender, have



formed an increasing focus of contemporary human geography. The events of September 11 particularly illustrated the ways in which identities can be transformed across time and space by global and local events. Such transformations have also demonstrated the temporal and spatial construction of hate and fear, and increasing incidences of Islamophobia through the construction of Muslims as the

Other. This timely book collects a range of contributions from the social, cultural, political, historical, and economic disciplines of geography, together with writings from gender studies, cultural studies, and leisure studies in which research has revealed a strong spatial dimension to the construction, representation, contestation, and reworking of Muslim identities.

Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Merhson
Professor of History

Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War

(editor; 4th rev. ed., Houghton Mifflin, forthcoming)

Designed to encourage critical thinking about history, the Major Problems in American History series introduces students to both primary sources and analytical essays

on important topics in U.S. history.

Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War incorporates new research and expands its coverage of the experiences of average soldiers. The Fourth Edition includes more Vietnamese voices and a number of newly declassified documents, while a new Chapter 14 explores the international dimensions of the war.

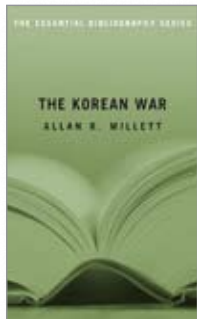


Allan R. Millett, Raymond E. Mason

Jr. Professor Emeritus of History

The Korean War: The Essential

Bibliography (Potomac Books, 2007)



Although sometimes forgotten in the shadows of World War II and the Vietnam War, the Korean War has at last begun to get its share of historical scrutiny. This bibliography serves as an essential reference tool, guiding the researcher through the studies of the build-up to the war, its strategic aspects, the roles of China and the United Nations as well as the United States, and the events following the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair

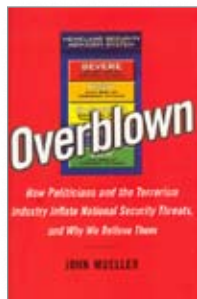
of National Security Studies

Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism

Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and

Why We Believe Them (Free Press, 2006)

In *Overblown*, Mueller argues that the entire war on terror has been a radical overreaction to a rare event. Consider: 80,000 Arab and Muslim immigrants have been subjected



to fingerprinting and registration, and 5,000 foreign nationals have been imprisoned—yet there has not been a single conviction for a terrorist crime in America. We have gone to war in two countries, launched a massive domestic wiretapping program, and created vast databases of information once considered private. Yet the odds of an American being killed by a terrorist attack are

microscopic, and the capacity of al-Qaeda to do damage in the United States pales in comparison to that of past enemies such as international Communism. Lashing out at the terrorist threat is more expensive than the terrorist attack itself, and it gives the terrorists exactly what they are looking for. Mueller argues that it is time to rethink the war on terror and spend much smaller amounts on those things that do matter: intelligence, law enforcement, and disruption of radical groups overseas.

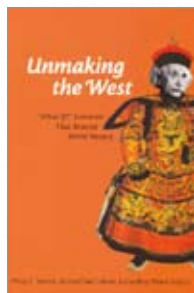
Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History

Unmaking the West: 'What If?' Scenarios That

Rewrite World History, ed. with Philip E. Tetlock and

Richard Ned Lebow (University of Michigan Press, 2006)

Unmaking the West applies counterfactual reasoning to a particularly demanding test case—the rise of the West—by asking three questions: How close did the West come to not rising as the result of internal events? How close did external events come to preventing the



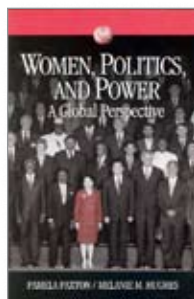
rise of the West? Could the rise of the West have taken a different form? The authors find that while there were infinite possibilities for redirecting history before 1500 so that the West never “rises,” after then it becomes progressively more difficult to find single events that “but for this” the world would have taken a different path. After 1800, it is virtually impossible to halt or reverse the rise of the West.

Pamela Paxton, Associate Professor of Sociology

Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective, with

Melanie Hughes (Sage Publications, Pine Forge Press, 2007)

Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective is the first comprehensive global text on women in politics. It provides a clear and detailed introduction to women's



political representation across a wide range of countries and regions, addressing both women's parliamentary representation and ascendance to leadership positions as heads of state or cabinet ministers. Using broad statistical overviews and detailed case-study accounts, the book documents both historical trends and the contemporary state of women's political strength across diverse countries. It also

reviews and evaluates contemporary debates on why and how women's access to political power varies across countries. Questions considered include: Why have women succeeded in obtaining political power in some countries but not others? Why did some countries take decades to elect their first female member of parliament, while others had women in their first legislative meeting? Is America a leader in promoting women's political representation, or does it fall behind?

Randall Schweller, Professor of Political Science

Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the

Balance of Power (Princeton

University Press, 2006)

The phenomenon of “underbalancing” is a common but underexamined behavior in international politics.

Underbalancing occurs when states fail to recognize dangerous threats, choose not to react to them, or respond in paltry and imprudent ways. It directly contradicts the core prediction of structural realism's balance-of-power



FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

BOOKS (continued)

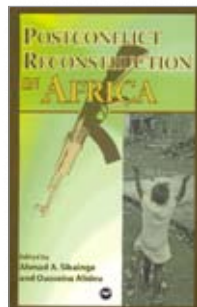
theory—that when confronted by dangerous threats, states will act by creating alliances, increasing their military capabilities, or both. *Unanswered Threats* offers a theory of underbalancing based on four variables—elite consensus, elite cohesion, social cohesion, and regime/government vulnerability. The theory is tested against the cases of interwar Britain and France, France from 1877 to 1913, and the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870) that pitted Paraguay against Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Schweller concludes that those most likely to underbalance are incoherent, fragmented states whose elites are constrained by political considerations.

Amy Shuman, Professor of English and Anthropology
Rejecting Refugees: Political Asylum in the 21st Century, with Carol Bohmer (Routledge, forthcoming)

Many nations recognize the moral and legal obligation to accept people fleeing from persecution, but political asylum applicants in the 21st century face restrictive policies and cumbersome procedures. What counts as persecution? How do applicants translate their stories of suffering and trauma into a narrative acceptable to the immigration officials? How can asylum officials weed out the fake from the genuine without resorting to inappropriate cultural definitions of behavior? Using in-depth accounts by asylum applicants and interviews with lawyers and others involved, this book takes the reader on a journey through the process of applying for asylum in the United States and Great Britain. It describes how the systems address the conflicting needs of the state to protect citizens from terrorists and hordes of economic migrants, while at the same time adhering to legal, moral, and treaty obligations to provide safe haven for those fleeing persecution.

Ahmad A. Sikainga, Professor of History
Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa, ed. with Ousseina Alidou (Africa World Press, 2006)

This book is a collection of essays by prominent scholars, NGOs, and policymakers who explored reconstruction efforts currently taking place in a number of war-



affected African countries. In addition to analyzing the various approaches and theoretical paradigms for the study of conflict resolution, democratization, reconciliation, healing, and nation-building, the book explores such topics as ethno-cultural dimensions of reconstruction; gender, regeneration, and conflict; rehabilitation of child conscripts, particularly girls; strategies for psycho-

social healing; demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; and economic dimensions of reconstruction. In the volume, these themes are illustrated by examples from Ethiopia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Niger, Mozambique, South Africa, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Alexander Stephan, Ohio Eminent Scholar and Professor of Germanic Languages and Literature
Überwacht. Ausgebürgert. Exiliert. Schriftsteller und der Staat [Observed, Expatriated, Exiled: Writers and the State] (Aisthesis, 2007)

This collection of articles by Stephan focuses on the interface of 20th-century literature with the state apparatus that demands allegiances and sets parameters for writers. These demands led to the persecution of leftist writers by the Nazi bureaucracy, the FBI surveillance of German exiled intellectuals, the confining relationship between writers and the socialist state, and the cultural rift between the United States and Europe that became visible after September 11. Much of Stephan's research is based on work in government archives in the United States and Germany.

America on My Mind. Zur Amerikanisierung der deutschen Kultur nach 1945 [America on My Mind: The Americanization of (West-)German Culture Since 1945], with Jochen Vogt (München, 2006)

This edited collection explores the role of American culture and anti-Americanism in West Germany after 1945 and the reunified Germany after 1990. Germany is



seen as a special case because it was divided and militarily occupied after World War II. U.S. occupation brought the West German people into direct contact with American culture, both high art and popular fare. American cultural activity in Germany focused on de-Nazification and commitment to a united Europe, peace, and the environment. In turn, West Germany developed its own criticism of America based on pacifist motives.

The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945 (Berghahn Books, 2006)

Recent tensions between the United States and Europe seem to have opened an insuperable rift, while Americanization—deplored by some, welcomed by



others—seems to progress unabated. This edited collection explores the role of American culture and anti-Americanism in 11 European countries. Each contributor addresses four topics: the role of American public diplomacy; the transfer of American high culture; the impact of popular culture such as Hollywood movies, television, and pop music; and the history of anti-Americanism.

Stephan's introduction examines the "culture clash" between the United States and Europe, as well as adaptations and blending processes in various countries.

ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Chadwick Alger, Professor of Political Science and Public Policy Emeritus

"Peace Studies as a Transdisciplinary Project," in *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, ed. by Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (Routledge, 2007).

"Widening Participation," in *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, by Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws (Oxford University Press, 2007).

Tarak Barkawi, Postdoctoral Fellow

"Responses," a reply to David Martin Jones and M.L.R. Smith's article "The Commentariat and Discourse Failure: Language and Atrocity in Cool Britannia" (*International Affairs*, 2007).

"The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies," with Mark Laffey (*Review of International Studies*, 2006).

"Culture and Combat in the Colonies: The Indian Army in the Second World War" (*Journal of Contemporary History*, 2006).

"Common Enemies: The U.S., Israel and the World Crisis," in *Iraq and World Order: Structural, Institutional and Normative Challenges*, ed. by Ramesh Thakur and W.P.S. Sidhu (UNU Press, 2006).

Nina Berman, Associate Professor of German Languages and Literatures

"Ottoman Shock-and-Awe and the Rise of Protestantism: Luther's Reactions to the Ottoman Invasions of the Early Sixteenth Century" (Special issue of *Seminar* on Edward Said, ed. by Friederike Eigler, 2005).

"Thoughts on Zionism in the Context of German-Middle Eastern Relations" (Special issue of *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* on German Orientalism, ed. by Jennifer Jenkins, 2004).

Sarah Brooks, Assistant Professor of Political Science

"Capital, Trade, and the Political Economies of Reform," with Marcus J. Kurtz (*American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming).

"When Does Diffusion Matter? Explaining the Spread of Structural Pension Reforms across Nations" (*The Journal of Politics*, forthcoming).

"Globalization and Pension Reform in Latin America" (*Latin American Politics and Society*, forthcoming).

"Lashed to the Mast: The Political Economy of Notional Defined Contribution Pensions," with R. Kent Weaver, in *Pension Reform: Issues and prospects for non-financial defined contribution (NDC) schemes*, ed. by R. Holzmann and E. Palmer (The World Bank, 2006).

Edward Crenshaw, Associate Professor of Sociology

"Ideologies of Violence: The Social Origins of Islamist and Leftist Transnational Terrorism," with Kristopher K. Robison and J. Craig Jenkins (*Social Forces*, 2006).

"Globalization and the Digital Divide: The Roles of Structural Conduciveness and Global Connection in Internet Diffusion," with Kristopher K. Robison (*Social Science Quarterly*, 2006).

"Jump-Starting the Internet Revolution: How Global Connections Help Diffuse the Internet," with Kristopher K. Robison (*Journal of the Association for Information Systems*, 2006).

Alistair Fraser, former Postdoctoral Fellow

"Hybridity emergent: Geo-history, learning, and land restitution in South Africa" (*Geoforum*, 2007).

"Coded spatialities of fieldwork" (*Area*, 2007).

Timothy Frye, former Associate Professor of Political Science

"Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia" (*World Politics*, 2006).

"Ownership, Voting and Job Creation in Russia" (*European Journal of Political Economy*, 2006).

Robert Greenbaum, Associate Professor, John Glenn School of Public Affairs

"The Impact of Terrorism on Italian Employment and Business Activity," with Laura Dugan and Gary LaFree (*Urban Studies*, 2007).

"The Economic Impact of Terrorist Incidents on the Italian Tourism Industry," with Andy Hultquist (*Urban Affairs Review*, 2006).

"Do Business Investment Incentives Promote Employment in Declining Areas? Evidence from EU Objective 2 Regions," with Daniele Bondonio (*European Urban and Regional Studies*, 2006).

Richard Gunther, Professor of Political Science

"The Long- and Short-Term Determinants of Partisan Polarization," in *Il cittadino/elettore tra Europa e America*, ed. by Renato Mannheimer and Paolo Segatti (*Il Mulino*, forthcoming).

"Introducción: los estudios sobre los partidos políticos," with José Ramón Montero, in *Partidos políticos: perspectivas teóricas y empíricas*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Juan J. Linz (Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, 2007).

FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

"Una crisis de institucionalización: el colapso de UCD," with Jonathan Hopkin, in *Partidos políticos: perspectivas teóricas y empíricas*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Juan J. Linz (Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, 2007).

"Los sentimientos antipartidistas en el Sur de Europa," with Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero, in *Partidos políticos: perspectivas teóricas y empíricas*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Juan J. Linz (Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, 2007).

"Portuguese Elections in Comparative Perspective," in *Portugal at the Polls*, ed. by André Freire, Marina Costa Lobo, and Pedro Magalhães (Lexington Books, 2007).

"Introduction," with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, in *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Intermediation: Some Attitudinal and Behavioral Dimensions," with José Ramón Montero and Mariano Torcal, in *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Values Cleavages and Partisan Conflict," with H.C. Kuan, in *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Conclusion," with Hans-Jürgen Puhle and José Ramón Montero, in *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*, ed. with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Introduction," with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Dimitri Sotiropoulos, and Edward Malefakis, in *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*, ed. with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri Sotiropoulos (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Conclusion," with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, in *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*, ed. with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri Sotiropoulos (Oxford University Press, 2007).

"The Multidimensionality of Attitudinal Support for New Democracies: Conceptual Redefinition and Empirical Refinement," with José Ramón Montero, in *Political Disaffection in Europe*, ed. by Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero (Routledge, 2006).

Peter Hahn, Professor of History

"How Special a Relationship: The Middle East and Anglo-American Relations since 1940," in *European-American Relations and the Middle East from Suez to Iraq*, ed. by Daniel Moeckli et al. (Routledge, forthcoming).

"The 'Special Relationship' between the United States and Great Britain Since 1940" (*Az-Zaman*, forthcoming, in Arabic).

"The Cold War and the Six Day War: U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Crisis of June 1967," in *The Cold War in the Middle East: Regional Conflict and the Superpowers, 1967–1973*, ed. by Nigel John Ashton (Routledge, 2007).

"The United States and Israel: The Formative Years," in *Controlling the Uncontrollable? The Great Powers in the Middle East*, ed. by Tore T. Petersen (Rostra Books, 2006).

"The United States and Israel in the Eisenhower Era: The Special Relationship Revisited," in *The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War*, ed. by Kathryn Statler and Andrew Johns (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).

"The Suez Crisis," in *eJournal USA: Foreign Policy Agenda* (April 2006).

"Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957" (*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2006).

Richard Herrmann, Director of the Mershon Center

"From Prediction to Learning: Opening Expert Minds to Unfolding History," with Jong Kun Choi (*International Security*, 2007).

J. Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology

"Social Stratification, Military Power and Child Hunger: A Cross-National Analysis 1990–2000," with Stephen Scanlan and Lindsey Peterson (*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming).

"Spinning Our Way to Sustainability," with Robert J. Brulle (*Organization and Environment*, 2007).

"Is the U.S. Environmental Movement Dead?" with Robert J. Brulle (*Contexts*, 2007).

"Ideologies of Violence: The Social Origins of Islamist and Leftist Transnational Terrorism," with Kris Robison and Edward Crenshaw (*Social Forces*, 2006).

John Kagel, University Chaired Professor of Applied Microeconomics

"Indicative Bidding: An Experimental Analysis," with Svetlana Pevnitskaya and Lixin Ye (*Games and Economic Behavior*, forthcoming).

"Selection Bias, Demographic Effects and Ability Effects in Common Value Auction Experiments," with Marco Casari and John Ham (*American Economic Review*, forthcoming).

"Survival Auctions," with Svetlana Pevnitskaya and Lixin Ye (*Economic Theory*, forthcoming).

"Learning and Transfer in Signaling Games," with David J. Cooper (*Economic Theory*, forthcoming).

"Behavioral Identification in Coalitional Bargaining: An Experimental Analysis of Demand Bargaining and Alternating Offers," with Guillaume Frechette and Massimo Morelli (*Econometrica*, 2005).

"Gamson's Law versus Non-Cooperative Bargaining Theory," with Guillaume Frechette and Massimo Morelli (*Games and Economic Behavior*, 2005).

"Nominal Bargaining Power, Selection Protocol and Discounting in Legislative Bargaining?" with Guillaume Frechette and Massimo Morelli (*Journal of Public Economics*, 2005).

"Bargaining in Legislatures: An Experimental Investigation of Open versus Closed Amendment Rules," with Guillaume R. Frechette and Steven F. Lehrer (*American Political Science Review*, 2003).

Sean Kay, Mershon Associate

"NATO and Counterinsurgency: Tactical Asset or Strategic Liability?" (*Contemporary Security Policy*, 2007).

"Beyond European Security: Europe, the United States, and NATO," in *Europe Today: A Twenty-first Century Introduction*, ed. by Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones (3rd ed., Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

Taehyun Kim, Visiting Scholar

"Toward a Korean Theory of International Politics," in *Korean School of International Politics: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. by Yong-Chool Ha (Seoul National University Press, 2007, in Korean).

"The United States and the World Order after the Iraqi War," in *State of Knowledge in Korea: Political Science* (Book World, 2007, in Korean).

"The United States, Northeast Asia, and the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: With a Focus on North Korean Nuclear Issue" (*Dong-A Yeongu [East Asian Studies]*, 2007, in Korean).

Marcus Kurtz, Associate Professor of Political Science

"Capital, Trade, and the Political Economies of Reform," with Sarah Brooks (*American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming).

"Growth and Governance: Models, Measures, and Mechanisms," with Andrew Schrank (*Journal of Politics*, 2007).

Mitchell Lerner, Associate Professor of History

"Trying to Find the Guy who Invited Them: Lyndon Johnson and the 1968 Czech Coup" (*Diplomatic History*, forthcoming).

"Diplomacy Is Still Not Bankrupt: The Cold War and Korea, 1966–1969," in *Between Total War and Small Wars*, ed. by Bernd Greiner (Hamburg Institute for Social Research, forthcoming).

William Liddle, Professor of Political Science

"Leadership, Party and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia," with Saiful Mujani (*Comparative Political Studies*, 2007).

"Political Leadership and Civilian Supremacy in Third Wave Democracies: Comparing South Korea and Indonesia," with Yong Cheol Kim and Salim Said (*Pacific Affairs*, 2006).

"Indonesia in 2005: A New Multiparty Presidential Democracy," with Saiful Mujani (*Asian Survey*, 2006).

Edward J. Malecki, Professor of Geography

"Cities and Regions Competing in the Global Economy: Networks, Knowledge and Local Development Policies" (*Environment & Planning C: Government & Policy*, 2007).

"Labor migration to world cities: with a research agenda for the Arab Gulf," with Michael C. Ewers (*Progress in Human Geography*, 2007).

"Immigration Profiles of U.S. Urban Areas: With Particular Attention to Mid-Size MSAs and Agents of Resettlement," with L.A. Brown and T. Mott (*The Professional Geographer*, 2007).

FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

"Higher Education and the Promotion of SME Innovation: What We Know and What We Don't Know About Knowledge Transfer Mechanisms," in *Promoting Entrepreneurship: The Role of Higher Education*, ed. by J. Potter (OECD, 2007).

"Networks, Knowledge and Capital: The Role of Hard and Soft Networks in Regional Development," in *Europe – Reflections on Social Capital, Innovation and Regional Development*, ed. by Mikel Landabaso, A. Kuklinski, and C. Román (Wy sza Szkola Biznesu-National Louis University, 2007).

"Knowledge and the Competitiveness of Places," with G.-J. Hospers, in *The Learning Region: Foundations, State of the Art, Future*, ed. by R. Rutten and F. Boekema (Edward Elgar, 2007).

"Science and Technology and Policies for Competitiveness in the 21st Century," in *The Global Enterprise: Entrepreneurship and Value Creation*, ed. by R.A. Ajami and M.M. Bear (Haworth Press, 2007).

Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Merhson Professor of History

"The Danger of Geopolitical Fantasies: Nixon, Kissinger, and the South Asia Crisis of 1971," in *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–1977*, ed. by Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

"Security or Freedom? The Impact of the Korean War on America's Quest for a Liberal World Order," in *America's Wars and World Order*, ed. by Hideki Kan (Tokyo, forthcoming).

"Turning Point: The Vietnam War's Pivotal Year, November 1967 to November 1968," *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, ed. by David L. Anderson (forthcoming)

"U.S. National Security Policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1*, ed. by Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (forthcoming).

"The Security Imperative: U.S. Cold War Strategy, 1947–1963" (*New England Journal of History*, forthcoming, 2007).

"American Studies and the Challenge of Globalization" (*Nanzan Review of American Studies*, 2006).

Katherine Meyer, Professor and Associate Provost, Sociology and Human and Community Resource Development

"Changed Political Attitudes in the Middle East Following Western Intervention: The Case of Kuwait," with Helen Rizzo and Yousef Ali (*International Sociology*, 2007).

"Extending Political Rights in the Middle East: The Case of Kuwait," with Helen Rizzo and Yousef Ali (*Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 2007).

"The Relationship between Gender Equality and Democracy: A Comparison of Arab versus Non-Arab Muslim Societies," with Helen Rizzo and Hamid Abdelatif (*Sociology*, 2007).

Allan R. Millett, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Professor Emeritus of History

"Woody at War" (*Timeline*, Ohio Historical Society, 2007)

"Korea and the End of the Cold War," in *From Detente to the Soviet Collapse: The Cold War from 1975 to 1991*, ed. by Malcolm Muir (Adams Center for Military History and Strategic Analysis, 2006).

Margaret Mills, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

"Oral and Popular Literature: Dari Persian of Afghanistan," in *Oral and Popular Literature in Iranian Languages*, ed. by Philip Kreyenbroeck (forthcoming).

"On the Problem of Truth in Ethnographic Texts and Entextualization Processes," in *Research Ethics in Studies of Culture and Social Life*, ed. by Bente Gullveig Alver, Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, and Ørjar Øyen (Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2007).

"Women, Gender and Memory: Afghanistan," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* (Brill, 2007).

"Alf Laylah in Performance: Afghanistan," in *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*, ed. by U. Marzolph (Wayne State University Press, 2007).

"Afghan Women Leaders Speak: an Activist Academic Conference," with Sally Kitch (*National Women's Studies Association Journal*, 2006).

Massimo Morelli, Professor of Economics and Political Science

"Political Bias and War," with Matthew O. Jackson (*American Economic Review*, 2007).

"Self-Enforcing Voting in International Organizations," with Giovanni Maggi (*American Economic Review*, 2006).

"Behavioral Identification in Coalitional Bargaining: An Experimental Analysis of Demand Bargaining and Alternating Offers," with Guillaume Frechette (*Econometrica*, 2005).

"Gamson's Law versus Non-Cooperative Bargaining Theory," with Guillaume Frechette (*Games and Economic Behavior*, 2005).

"Nominal Bargaining Power, Selection Protocol and Discounting in Legislative Bargaining?" with Guillaume Frechette (*Journal of Public Economics*, 2005).

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies

"Faulty Correlation, Foolish Consistency, and Fatal Consequence: Democracy, Peace, and Theory in the Middle East," in *Democratic Peace and Promotion: Critical Perspectives*, ed. by Steven H. Hook (Kent State University Press, forthcoming).

"Is International Terrorism a Significant Challenge to National Security?" in *Controversies in Globalization and Public Policy*, ed. by Peter M. Haas and John H. Hurd (Congressional Quarterly Press, forthcoming).

"The Decline of War" (*Lapham's Quarterly*, forthcoming).

"Ideas, Thugs, and the Decline of War," in *Handbook of War Studies III*, ed. by Manus I. Midlarsky (University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

"The terrorism industry: the profits of doom," in *Playing Politics with Terrorism*, ed. by George Kassimeris (Hurst, forthcoming).

"The Iraq War and the Management of American Public Opinion," in *Intelligence and National Security Policy Making in Iraq: British and American Perspectives*, ed. by James Pfiffner and Mark Phythian (Manchester University Press, forthcoming).

"Terrorism and Bumps in the Night," in *Terrorism and Terror: Imagination and Practice*, ed. by Andrew Strathern and Pamela J. Stewart (Duke University Press, forthcoming).

"Fear Not: Notes from a Naysayer" (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2007).

"What If We Leave? When nightmare scenarios are used to justify endless war, it's time to wake up" (*American Conservative*, 2007).

"Vietnam and Iraq: Strategy, Exit, and Syndrome," in *Vietnam in Iraq: Tactics, lessons, legacies, and ghosts*, ed. by John Dumbrell and David Ryan (Routledge, 2007).

"Vers la fin de la guerre?" (*Politique Étrangère*, 2006).

"Is There Still a Terrorist Threat? The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy" (*Foreign Affairs*, 2006; roundtable follow-up discussion on "Is There Still a Terrorist Threat?" with James Fallows, Jessica Stern, Fawaz Gerges, and Paul Pillar on *Foreign Affairs* web site).

"Some Reflections on What, If Anything, 'Are We Safer' Might Mean," lead essay and discussion, with Clark Kent Irwin, Veronique de Rugy, and Timothy Naftali (*Cato Unbound* web site, 2006).

Anthony Mughan, Professor of Political Science

"Charisma, Leader Effects and Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties," with Wouter van der Brug (*Party Politics*, 2007).

"Economic Insecurity and Welfare Policy Preferences: A Micro-Level Analysis" (*Comparative Politics*, 2007).

"Anti-Immigrant Sentiment, Policy Preferences and Populist Party Voting in Australia," with Pamela Paxton (*British Journal of Political Science*, 2006).

"What's to Fear from Immigrants? Deriving a Measure of Assimilationist Threat," with Pamela Paxton (*Political Psychology*, 2006).

Irfan Nooruddin, Assistant Professor of Political Science

"Unstable Politics: Fiscal Space and Electoral Volatility in the Indian States," with Pradeep Chhibber (*Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming).

"The Politics of Hard Choices: IMF Programs and Government Spending," with Joel W. Simmons (*International Organization*, 2006).

Dorothy Noyes, Associate Professor of English, Comparative Studies, and Anthropology

"Humble Theory" (Why Is There No Grand Theory in Folkloristics? Special issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research*, 2007).

FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

"Cultural Warming? Brazil in Berlin," in *Cultural Politics and the Politics of Culture*, ed. by Helen Fehervary and Bernd Fischer (*German Life and Civilization*, v. 45, Peter Lang, 2007).

"Voice in the Provinces: Submission, Recognition, and the Making of Heritage," in *Prädikat Heritage. Wertschöpfungen aus kultureller Ressourcen*, ed. by Dorothee Hemme, Markus Tauschek, and Regina Bendix (Lit Verlag, 2007).

"The Judgment of Solomon: Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership" (*Cultural Analysis*, 2006).

"Waiting for Mr. Marshall: Spanish American Dreams," in *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945*, ed. by Alexander Stephan (Berghahn, 2006).

Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History

"The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs: Maurice of Nassau, the battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), and the legacy" (*Journal of Military History*, 2007).

"The Military Revolution 1560–1660 — a Myth?" "Mutiny and discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders, 1572–1607," and "The Dreadnought Revolution of Tudor England," in *Warfare in Early Modern Europe 1450–1660*, ed. by Paul Hammer (Ashgate, 2007).

"Affaires militaires et navales," in *La Belgique espagnole, 1585–1715*, 2 vols., ed. by Paul Janssens (Dexia, 2006; Dutch ed., 2006).

"The Spanish Armada almost surrendered" (*MHQ: the Quarterly Journal of Military History*, 2006).

Pamela Paxton, Associate Professor of Sociology

"Social Capital and Social Networks: Bridging Boundaries," special issue of *American Behavioral Scientist*, ed. with James Moody (forthcoming).

"Not All Association Memberships Increase Trust: A Model of Generalized Trust in Thirty-One Countries" (*Social Forces*, forthcoming).

"In Principle and in Practice: Learning Political Tolerance in Eastern and Western Europe," with Marquart-Pyatt (*Political Behavior*, forthcoming).

"Gender in Politics," with Sheri Kunovich and Melanie Hughes (*Annual Review of Sociology*, forthcoming).

"The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893–2003," with Melanie Hughes and Jennifer Green (*American Sociological Review*, 2006).

"What's to Fear from Immigrants? Creating an Assimilationist Threat Scale," with Anthony Mughan (*Political Psychology*, 2006).

"Anti-Immigrant Sentiment, Policy Preferences, and Populist Party Voting," with Anthony Mughan (*The British Journal of Political Science*, 2006).

Cathy Rakowski, Associate Professor of Women's Studies and Rural Sociology

"Institucionalización de la Lucha Feminista/Femenina en Venezuela: Solidaridad y Fragmentación, Oportunidades y Desafíos" ["Institutionalization of Feminist/Women's Struggle in Venezuela: Solidarity and Fragmentation, Opportunities and Challenges"], with Gioconda Espina, in *De Lo Privado a Lo Público: Treinta años de lucha ciudadana de las mujeres en América Latina*, ed. by Elizabeth Meier and Nathalie Lebon (UNIFEM, United Nations and Siglo XXI Publishers, 2006).

Amy Shuman, Professor of English and Anthropology

"Producing Epistemologies of Ignorance in the Political Asylum Application Process," with Carol Bohmer (*Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 2007).

Allan Silverman, Professor of Philosophy

"Ascent and Descent: The Philosopher's Regret" (*Social Philosophy and Policy*, 2007).

Donald Sylvan, former Professor of Political Science

"Tradeoffs in Measuring Identities: A Comparison of Five Approaches," with Amanda K. Metskas, in *Identity as a Variable: Conceptualization and Measurement*, ed. by Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

"Problem Representation and Conflict Dynamics in the Middle East and Northern Ireland," with A. Grove and J. Martinson (*Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2005).

Alexander Thompson, Assistant Professor of Political Science

"The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications," with Yoram Haftel (*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2006).

"Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission" (*International Organization*, 2006).

"Screening Power: International Organizations as Informative Agents," in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, ed. by Darren Hawkins, David Lake, Daniel Nielson, and Michael Tierney (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Editor, Special Issue: Economy, Politics and Institutions: From Adaptation to Adaptive Management, with Joseph Arvai, Tomas Koontz, Paul Robbins, Brent Sohngen (*Climatic Change*, September 2006), result of a 2004 Mershon Center conference.

"Economy, Politics and Institutions: From Adaptation to Adaptive Management in Climate Change," guest editorial by Alexander Thompson, Paul Robbins, Brent Sohngen, Joseph Arvai, and Tomas Koontz.

"Management under Anarchy: The International Politics of Climate Change," by Alexander Thompson.

"Adaptive Management of the Global Climate Problem: Bridging the Gap Between Climate Research and Climate Policy," by Joseph Arvai, Gavin Bridge, Nives Dolsak, Robert Franzese, Tomas Koontz, April Luginbuhl, Paul Robbins, Kenneth Richards, Katrina Smith Korfmacher, Brent Sohngen, James Tansey, and Alexander Thompson.

"Context Matters: What Shapes Adaptation to Water Stress in the Okanagan?" by Philippa Shepherd, James Tansey, and Hadi Dowlatabadi.

"Adaptive Governance and Climate Change in the Tropical Highlands of Western South America," by Kenneth R. Young and Jennifer K. Lipton.

"Institutional Adaptation of Water Resource Infrastructures to Climate Change in Eastern Ontario," by P. Crabbé and M. Robin.

"Learning to Adapt: Organisational Adaptation to Climate Change Impacts," by Frans Berkhout, Julia Hertin, and David M. Gann.

"Optimal Technology R&D in the Face of Climate Uncertainty," by Erin Baker, Leon Clarke, and John Weyant.

"The Effect of Vegetation Productivity on Millet Prices in the Informal Markets of Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger," by Molly E. Brown, Jorge E. Pinzon, and Stephen D. Prince.

"The Role of Markets and Governments in Helping Society Adapt to a Changing Climate," by Robert Mendelsohn.

Bruce Weinberg, Associate Professor of Economics

"Interpersonal Styles and Labor Market Outcomes," with Lex Borghans and Bas ter Weel (*Journal of Human Resources*, forthcoming).

Herbert F. Weisberg, Professor of Political Science

Editor, Special Issue: The Iraq War and the 2004 Presidential Election (*Political Behavior*, June 2007), result of a 2005 Mershon Center conference.

"Introduction: Electoral Democracy during Wartime: The 2004 U.S. Election," by Herbert F. Weisberg.

"Changing Horses in Wartime? The 2004 Presidential Election," by Herbert F. Weisberg and Dino Christenson.

"A Question of Authority: Religion and Cultural Conflict in the 2004 Election," by Stephen T. Mockabee.

"Fear in the Voting Booth: The 2004 Presidential Election," by Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, Jill Rickershauser, and David W. Rohde.

"Iraq the Vote: Retrospective and Prospective Foreign Policy Judgments on Candidate Choice and Casualty Tolerance," by Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler and Peter Feaver.

"Mission Accomplished: The Wartime Election of 2004," by Helmut Norpoth and Andrew H. Sidman.

"Retrospective and Prospective Performance Assessments during the 2004 Election Campaign: Tests of Mediation and News Media Priming," by Neil Malhotra and Jon A. Krosnick.

Edward Ziter, former Associate Professor of Theater

"Le théâtre syrien aujourd'hui," in *La Syrie au présent. Reflets d'une société*, ed. by Baudoin Dupret (Actes Sud, 2007).

FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

HONORS, AWARDS, AND SERVICE



Chadwick Alger



Marilynn Brewer

The International Organization section of the International Studies Association named its prize for Best Graduate Student Essay on Civil Society after **Chadwick Alger**.

Marilynn Brewer won the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association, the field's most prestigious award for distinguished theoretical and empirical contributions to research in psychology. Brewer's pioneering work on how group memberships shape identities and social behavior has changed the way scientists around the world think about issues of prejudice and discrimination. Brewer was recently inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and also gave Ohio State's University Distinguished Lecture for 2007.



Carole Fink



Robert Greenbaum

Edward Crenshaw and **J. Craig Jenkins** won a National Science Foundation grant for "Ideology and International Terrorism: Types of Terrorism and Their Structural Determinants." The grant application was based on their 2005–06 Mershon Center project "Terror's Fourth Wave."

Carole Fink won the Distinguished Scholar Award from The Ohio State University for her innovative and wide-ranging accomplishments in the field of European history. Fink is a two-time winner of the George Louis Beer Prize from the American Historical Association. She has authored three extensively documented books and has published 19 articles, 25 book chapters, and 14 professional monographs.



Richard Herrmann



Theodore Hopf

Robert Greenbaum was named associate director of the Center for Urban and Regional Analysis at The Ohio State University.

Richard Herrmann was selected as a Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow by the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences for 2007–10. The fellowships are named in honor of Huber, who served as dean of the college from 1984–92 and as senior vice president for Academic Affairs and provost until her 1993 retirement.



Marcus Kurtz

Theodore Hopf was a senior research fellow at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.

Marcus Kurtz won an Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching from The Ohio State University. One student said Kurtz "is encouraging and exemplifies all of the good qualities of teaching. Not only is this because of his excellent teaching ability, but he also takes the time to mentor on a one-on-one basis." Kurtz breaks down challenging material so that students understand and are enthusiastic about it. "He encouraged students to engage in independent thought and critical analysis of the arguments presented," another student said.



Allan Millett



Irfan Nooruddin

Allan Millett received the U.S. Secretary of Defense Medal for his “exceptionally outstanding public service as a military author and professor of military history, supporting the Office of the Director, Net Assessment, and the Department of Defense, from July 1968 to November 2006.” Millett is the author or editor of 16 books and more than 75 articles and essays; he is one of the founders of Ohio State’s renowned military history program.

Margaret Newell received a National Endowment for the Humanities Research Fellowship.



Geoffrey Parker



Pamela Paxton

Irfan Nooruddin received a Distinguished Undergraduate Research Mentor of the Year Award from The Ohio State University. Among the comments made by the students who nominated Nooruddin were that he “has taught me to have a deep respect for the research process and my subjects of study,” and that his “efforts to advocate for undergraduate research are simply unparalleled as he exemplifies the commitment of faculty necessary to enable students to realize their full potential.”

Geoffrey Parker was named University Distinguished Professor at The Ohio State University. The title is awarded permanently to no more than three exceptional faculty per year. Parker’s record of publications includes 33 books—many of them translated into foreign languages—11 review articles, 88 other articles and book chapters, and more than 170 book reviews in the fields of European history, military history, and world history. The enduring quality and numerous translations of his works can be traced to his “symmetrical” approach to historical writing. In other words, not only did Parker study in the archives and libraries of Spain and its allies, but he also researched in those of its enemies.



Brian Pollins



Cathy Rakowski

Pamela Paxton received the Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for Research on Women in Politics for her project “How Women Attain Political Power: Understanding Women’s Representation in Parliaments, 1893–2003.”

Brian Pollins was elected president of the Peace Sciences Society (International), which encourages the development of peace analysis and conflict management. In particular, the society seeks to improve social science theory as it relates to international relations. It held its North American annual meeting in Columbus on November 10–12, 2006.



Jennifer Siegel

Cathy Rakowski won an Excellence in Teaching Award from the Rural Sociological Society.

Jennifer Siegel received a junior faculty grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation.

Alexander Stephan was named Fulbright Senior Specialist for 2006–11.

Jeffrey Sachs, director of the U.N. Millennium Project, speaks about "The End of Poverty" on October 5, 2006, to about 750 faculty, staff, and students in the Ohio Union.



INSET TOP Participants listen during The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History conference, held April 20–21, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

INSET MIDDLE Panelists and audience members raise their hands as Maggie Lewis (center), associate director of the Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management, asks who had heard of her organization at the Peace Matters conference, held May 11–12, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

INSET BOTTOM Jason Parker (left), postdoctoral fellow, chats with Mary Sarotte (center), former postdoctoral fellow now of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and Jennifer Siegel, assistant professor of history, during a break at the conference on Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–77, held December 1–2, 2006, at the Mershon Center.





EVENTS

Furniss Book Award

The Edgar S. Furniss Book Award is given annually to an author whose first book makes an exceptional contribution to the study of national and international security. This award commemorates the founding director of the Mershon Center, Edgar S. Furniss.

This year, the Furniss Book Award was given to Victoria Tin-bor Hui, assistant professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, for her book *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005).

In her book, Hui demonstrates that from 656–221 B.C., China's government consisted of a system of sovereign territorial states similar to those in early modern Europe. This finding runs counter to the common belief that the roots of liberal democracy are unique to European civilization and alien to non-Western cultures.

Hui examines why China and Europe shared similar processes but experienced opposite outcomes. The results shed light on efforts to promote democracy in general, and prospects for Chinese democracy in particular.

Her lecture can be accessed on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.



Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann (right) presents the 2006 Edgar S. Furniss Book Award to Victoria Tin-bor Hui, assistant professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, for *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe*, on Feb. 26, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

Kruzel Memorial Lecture

Each year the Mershon Center selects one lecture in honor of Joseph J. Kruzel, an Ohio State faculty member in political science who served in the U.S. Air Force as well as other posts in the federal government. Kruzel was killed in Sarajevo, Bosnia, while serving as assistant deputy secretary of defense for European and NATO Affairs.

This year's Kruzel Lecture was given by William Perry, Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor at Stanford University, with a joint appointment at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and the School of Engineering. Perry is co-director of the Preventive Defense Project, a research collaboration of Stanford and Harvard universities.

Perry was the 19th U.S. Secretary of Defense, serving from February 1994 to January 1997. He previously served as deputy secretary of defense and under secretary of defense for Research and Engineering. Perry is on the board of directors of several high-tech companies and is chair of Global Technology Partners.

Perry was a particularly appropriate choice to give the Kruzel Lecture. Kruzel served as Perry's assistant deputy secretary of defense for European and NATO affairs, and Perry delivered the eulogy at Kruzel's funeral service in Columbus in 1995.



Former secretary of defense William Perry gives the Joseph J. Kruzel Memorial Lecture on Nov. 21, 2006, at the Mershon Center. Kruzel had served as Perry's assistant deputy secretary of defense for European and NATO affairs.

His talk can be accessed on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.

EVENTS

CONFERENCES

The Global Impact of 1956: Race, Neutralism, and National Liberation

Oct. 14–15, 2006

Organizers

Carole Fink, Professor of History

Rajiv Khanna, Amanda Rothery, Ursula Gurney, Ph.D. students in History

In 1956, the world witnessed two upheavals: a major rift in European communism, with the revolutions in Poland and Hungary; and the onset of decolonization after the abortive

Suez invasion by France and Great Britain. On the 50th anniversary of that momentous year, we looked beyond those seminal events and explored their impact on three significant issues—race, neutralism, and national liberation—which continue to affect the world today.

Participants

Carol Anderson, University of Missouri-Columbia

Daniel Branch, University of Exeter,

Alice Conklin, The Ohio State University

Donna Guy, The Ohio State University

Ryan Irwin, The Ohio State University

Rinna Kullaa, University of Maryland, College Park

Margaret Manchester, Providence College

Robert McMahon, The Ohio State University and Mershon Center

John Munro, University of California, Santa Barbara

Jason Parker, Mershon Center and Texas A&M University

William Risch, Georgia College and State University

Jennifer Siegel, The Ohio State University

Ahmad Sikainga, The Ohio State University



Conference organizers Rajiv Khanna and Carole Fink, both of The Ohio State University, speak during the wrap-up session of The Global Impact of 1956: Race, Neutralism, and National Liberation on Oct. 15, 2006, at the Mershon Center.

The War for the American South, 1865–1968

Nov. 9–11, 2006

Organizers

Mark Grimsley, Associate Professor of History

Hasan Kwame Jeffries, Assistant Professor of History

The War for the American South, 1865–1968, examined the struggle between white supremacy and black liberation in the American South through the lens of an extended war of decolonization. It took the form of a dialogue between historians who deal mainly with military history and historians who deal mainly with the African American liberation struggle of the 19th and 20th centuries. The purpose was to examine how the two fields—military history and African American history—could inform each other’s perspectives.

Discussants

Michael Les Benedict, The Ohio State University

Emilye Crosby, Geneseo College,
State University of New York

James G. Hogue, University of
North Carolina, Charlotte

Norma J. Kriger, Independent Scholar; Human Rights Watch, Consultant, Africa Division

Wayne E. Lee, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Jeffrey Ogbar, University of Connecticut

Paul Ortiz, University of California, Santa Cruz

Brooks D. Simpson, Arizona State University

Christopher B. Strain, Florida Atlantic University



Mark Grimsley



Participants in the War for the American South conference included (back row, left to right) Christopher Strain, Wayne Lee, Paul Ortiz, Jeffrey Ogbar, Les Benedict, and Brooks Simpson, and (front row, left to right) Norma Kriger, James Hogue, Mark Grimsley, Emilye Crosby, and Hasan Jeffries.

EVENTS

CONFERENCES (continued)

Jerusalem: Cultures and Communities in Contention

Nov. 27–28, 2006

Organizer

Amy Horowitz, Scholar in Residence, The Ohio State University



Amy Horowitz

Jerusalem: Cultures and Communities in Contention brought together Israeli and Palestinian scholars for a working conference to complete a publication begun in the 1990s.

Participants reviewed, critiqued, and revised essays on cultural identities and practices in Jerusalem written under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution's Jerusalem Project in light of events over the past decade. Two colleagues from the Smithsonian joined the working group. The publication will make a significant and timely contribution to questions that arise at the intersection of international security and cultural identity in disputed territories. The conference included two public forums on "Dualing Jerusalems" and "Jerusalem's Shifting Identities."

Participants

James Early, Director of Cultural Heritage Policy, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution

Galit Hasan-Rokem, Max and Margarethe Grunwald Professor of Folklore and Professor of Hebrew Literature, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Huda Imam, Director of the Center for Jerusalem Studies, Al-Quds University, and member of Jerusalem Link, Palestine

Menachem Klein, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University, Israel, and Senior Research Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Vered Madar, doctoral student in Jewish and Comparative Folklore, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Issam Nassar, Assistant Professor of Middle East History, Illinois State University

Peter Seitel, Senior Folklorist Emeritus, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution

Salim Tamari, Professor of Sociology, Bir Zeit University in Palestine, and Visiting Professor, University of California, Berkeley



Galit Hasan-Rokem (left), Professor of Folklore and Hebrew Literature at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Issam Nassar, Assistant Professor of Middle East History at Illinois State University, discuss relations between the Arab and Israeli communities in Jerusalem at public forums held during the Jerusalem: Cultures and Communities in Contention conference at the Mershon Center.

Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–77 Dec. 1–2, 2006

Organizer

Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History

This conference examined U.S. foreign policy during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Topics included American grand strategy, nuclear issues and arms control, the opening to China, U.S.-Soviet relations, and the Vietnam War. Participants included contributors to *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–77*, to be published in 2007 by Oxford University Press, as well as commentators from a variety of departments at Ohio State and other universities.

Robert Bothwell, University of Toronto

Carole Fink, The Ohio State University

Francis J. Gavin, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin

Peter Hahn, The Ohio State University

Alonzo Hamby, Ohio University



Jeremi Suri, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Andrew Preston, Cambridge University and co-editor of *Nixon in the World*, discuss Suri's paper on American grand strategy at the conference, held Dec. 1–2, 2006, at the Mershon Center.

Jussi M. Hanhimäki, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva

Mary Ann Heiss, Kent State University

Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center for International Security Studies

Gary R. Hess, Bowling Green State University

Walter Hixson, University of Akron

Ted Hopf, The Ohio State University

Jeffrey Kimball, Miami University (Ohio)

Mark Atwood Lawrence, University of Texas, Austin

Fredrik Logevall, Cornell University

Margaret MacMillan, University of Toronto

Michael Cotey Morgan, Yale University

John Mueller, The Ohio State University

Lien-Hang Nguyen, University of Kentucky

Chester Pach, Ohio University

Jason Parker, Mershon Center and Texas A&M University

Andrew Preston, Cambridge University

Dominic Sandbrook, Rothermere American Institute, Oxford University

Mary Elise Sarotte, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Robert D. Schulzinger, University of Colorado, Boulder

Randall Schweller, The Ohio State University

Jeremi Suri, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Alexander Wendt, The Ohio State University

Salim Yaqub, University of California, Santa Barbara



Robert McMahon



Fredrik Logevall of Cornell University, co-editor of *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969–77*, welcomes participants to the conference.

EVENTS

CONFERENCES (continued)

The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History

April 20–21, 2007

Organizers

Peter Hahn, Professor and Chair, Department of History

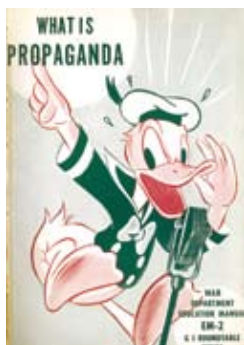
Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History

Brian Etheridge, Assistant Professor of History, Louisiana Tech University

Kenneth Osgood, Assistant Professor of History, Florida Atlantic University



Brian Etheridge



The Walt Disney Company lent its characters to a series of pamphlets published by the U.S. War Department during World War II. This is the cover of a pamphlet meant to educate soldiers about enemy propaganda. Image courtesy of the American Historical Association.

While at times a slippery term, public diplomacy denotes activities designed to shape, manipulate, or otherwise influence public opinion to facilitate the achievement of foreign policy objectives. Its practitioners have harbored ambitions ranging from advancing particular ideologies, to spreading cultural values and products, to simply fostering goodwill between nations. The United States and Public Diplomacy brought together the latest scholarship on the history of public diplomacy from a variety of disciplines and explored the ways public diplomacy reflects ideas and beliefs that inform security policy.

Seth Center, University of Virginia

Nicholas Cull, University of Southern California

Helge Danielsen, University of Oslo

Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Johann Wolfgang
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main

Justin Hart, Texas Tech University

Adam Howard, U.S. Department of State

Mark Kramer, Harvard University

Michael Krenn, Appalachian State University

Jason Parker, Mershon Center and
Texas A&M University

Héctor Perla, Ohio University

Neal Rosendorf, Long Island University

Giles Scott-Smith, Roosevelt Study Center

David Snyder, Grand Valley State University

John Tully, Central Connecticut State University



Participants listen during The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History conference, held April 20–21, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

Culture Archives and the State: Between Socialism, Nationalism, and the Global Market

May 3–5, 2007

Organizers

Dorothy Noyes, Associate Professor of English, Comparative Studies, and Anthropology

Margaret Mills, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

Culture Archives and the State assembled scholar-practitioners from Europe and Asia to discuss the political uses of culture archives.

Not just the dusty preserve of researchers, archives define and discipline national identities, shape and censor national memories, as well as preserve cultural alternatives for future recovery. Their contents and uses are tensely negotiated between states, scholars, and citizens. Today archives have become key sites for the reconstruction of cultures and identities in transition. Emphasizing socialist and post-socialist settings, this comparative critical conversation brought together the actors inescapably involved in the instrumentalization of folklore: archivists working in state institutions with a mandate to preserve the national culture.



(Left to right) John Roberts, Dean of the College of Humanities; Dorothy Noyes, Associate Professor of English, Comparative Studies, and Anthropology; and keynote speaker Regina Bendix, Georg-August Universität in Göttingen, Germany, share a moment at the Culture Archives and the State conference held May 3–5 at the Mershon Center.

Participants

- Taj Mohammad Ahmadzada, Radio-TV Afghanistan, Kabul
- Regina Bendix, Georg-August Universität, Göttingen, Germany
- Gao Bingzhong, Beijing University, China
- Alina Branda, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania
- Roma Chatterji, University of Delhi, India
- Lauri Harvilahti, Finnish Literary Society, Helsinki, Finland
- Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center for International Security Studies
- Renata Jambresic Kirin, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore, Zagreb, Croatia
- Andy Kolovos, Vermont Folklife Center
- Margaret Kruesi, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress
- John Roberts, Dean, College of Humanities, The Ohio State University
- Lorraine Sakata, University of California, Los Angeles (emerita)
- Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, Consejo Superior de Estudios Científicos, Madrid
- Guha Shankar, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress
- Anca Stere, Constantin Brailiou Institute, Bucharest, Romania
- Ergo-Hart Västriik, Estonian Literature Society, Tartu, Estonia



Dorothy Noyes



Margaret Mills

EVENTS

CONFERENCES (continued)

Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies

May 11–12, 2007

Organizers

Julie Clemens, Peace Studies Coordinator, Mershon Center for International Security Studies

Richard Herrmann, Director, Mershon Center for International Security Studies



Julie Clemens

Peace Matters was an interdisciplinary workshop on peace and conflict studies in the United States. Day one concentrated on how the subject is taught at U.S. universities, where it should head in the future, and how to institutionalize its presence in campus curricula. Day two featured peace activists from Ohio and beyond, highlighting practical steps that people interested in peace can take beyond the confines of the academy.

Participants

Pamela Aall, Vice President for Education, United States Institute of Peace

Chadwick Alger, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Public Policy, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, The Ohio State University

Rev. Christopher Cottrell, Director of the Interfaith Center for Peace, Columbus, Ohio

Patrick G. Coy, Director of the Center for Applied Conflict Management and Associate Professor of Political Science, Kent State University

Stan Deetz, Director of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program and Professor of Communication, University of Colorado, Boulder

Antoinette Errante, Associate Professor of Social and Cultural Foundations of Education in the School of Educational Policy and Leadership, The Ohio State University

Matthew Evangelista, Director of the Peace Studies Program and Professor of Government, Cornell University

Beth Fisher-Yoshida, Associate Director of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution at Teachers College, Columbia University.

B. Welling Hall, Professor of Politics and International Studies and Convener of International Studies, Earlham College

Julie Hart, Reservist with Christian Peacemaker Teams and Associate Professor of Sociology and Peace and Justice Studies, Ohio Dominican University

David Jehnsen, Chair and Founding Trustee, Institute for Human Rights & Responsibilities, Galena, Ohio

Maggie Lewis, Associate Director, Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution & Conflict Management, Columbus, Ohio

George Lopez, Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace, University of Notre Dame

Joyce Neu, Executive Director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice and Professor of Practice, University of San Diego

Rev. Deb Oskin, President, Central Ohioans for Peace, Columbus, Ohio

Kathleen Maas Weigert, Executive Director of the Center for Social Justice Research, Teaching and Service, and Research Professor in Sociology and Anthropology and the Program on Justice and Peace, Georgetown University



Joyce Neu, executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, speaks on "Using Conflict Transformation Theory in Practice."

SPEAKER SERIES

National Security Speaker Series

This series brings prominent experts from both academic and government backgrounds to discuss topics at the heart of the Mershon Center's three areas of focus: the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict. The purpose is to foster interdisciplinary discussion and research among faculty and students.

Jeffrey Sachs

Director, U.N. Millennium Project
Director, Earth Institute, Columbia University

"The End of Poverty"

Oct. 5, 2006

Peter Singer

Director, 21st-Century Defense Initiative,
Brookings Institution

"Wired for War: Science Fiction, Science Reality, and the 21st-Century Battlefield"

Oct. 10, 2006

Ann Tickner

Professor of International Relations,
University of Southern California

President, International Studies Association

"Gendered Insecurities, Religion and Contemporary International Theorizing"

Nov. 2, 2006

Aaron Friedberg

Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

"Is the Unipolar Moment Over?"

Feb. 15, 2007

Jens Meierhenrich

Assistant Professor of Government and Social Studies, Harvard University

"The Political Economy of Lawfare"

Feb. 21, 2007



Richard Herrmann (right), director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, introduces Jeffrey Sachs, director of the U.N. Millennium Project, to an audience of about 750 at the Ohio Union. Sachs spoke about how we can end poverty around the world in our lifetimes.



Peter Singer (center), director of the 21st-Century Defense Initiative at the Brookings Institution, meets with several Mershon Undergraduate Fellows. Singer spoke about and gave examples of the latest technology used by the Department of Defense.



Aaron Friedberg (left), professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University, stands with Mershon Associate Sean Kay. Friedberg is former deputy assistant for national security affairs for Vice President Richard Cheney.

Jeffrey Taliaferro

Associate Professor of Political Science, Tufts University

"Realism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Primacy of Power"

April 25, 2007



Jeffrey Taliaferro, associate professor of political science at Tufts University, speaks about his new book project, *Realism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Primacy of Power*.

EVENTS

SPEAKER SERIES *(continued)*

Director's Speaker Series



Ian Shapiro, director of the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale University, argues that the idea of containment offers the best hope for protecting Americans and their democracy into the future.



Steven Davis, William Abbot Professor of International Business and Economics at the University of Chicago, compared the total cost of war in Iraq to what containment under Saddam might have cost. Both options added up to between \$400 billion and \$600 billion.



Xinbo Wu, associate dean of the School of International Relations and Public Affairs at Fudan University in Shanghai, spoke about foreign policy and diplomacy from the Chinese point of view.

This series brings to the Merishon Center practicing officials, scholars, and others who have made important contributions to international security studies but might not otherwise fit neatly into our other speaker series categories.

Robert Brenner

Director, Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, UCLA
 "Prosperity and Crisis in the World Economy: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"
 Oct. 12, 2006

Richard Ned Lebow

James O. Freeman Presidential Professor of Government, Dartmouth University
 Former Director of the Merishon Center
 "The Politics of Memory in Post-War Europe"
 Oct. 13, 2006

Ian Shapiro

Director of the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University
 "Containment ... Rebuilding a Strategy Against Global Terror"
 Jan. 25, 2007



Paul Kennedy, J. Richardson Dilworth Professor of History at Yale University, holds up a copy of "The United Nations in its Second Half Century," the 1996 report by the International Commission on the Long-Term Future of the United Nations. Kennedy was secretariat of the commission.

Steven Davis

William Abbot Professor of International Business and Economics, University of Chicago
 "War in Iraq versus Containment"
 Feb. 2, 2007

Xinbo Wu

Associate Dean, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University
 "New Thinking and Practice in China's Diplomacy"
 March 29, 2007

Paul Kennedy

J. Richardson Dilworth Professor of History, Yale University
 "How the Second World War Was Won"
 "Reforming the United Nations: Mission Impossible?"
 "Engaging Rudyard Kipling"
 April 12–13, 2007

Citizenship Speaker Series

***Disciplina in Civitatem* is the motto of The Ohio State University, and studying and promoting the principles of good citizenship were priorities that Ralph D. Mershon asked that his gift to Ohio State promote.** To fulfill both the university's mission and Mershon's wishes, the center sponsors a Citizenship Speaker Series each year. The series, organized by professor of philosophy Allan Silverman, bring scholars to Ohio State to discuss the principles of good citizenship from a variety of perspectives. Streaming videos for most lectures are posted on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.

Theda Skocpol

Professor of Government and Sociology
Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University
"Voice and Inequality: The Transformation of American Civic Democracy"
Sept. 25, 2006

Michael Doyle

Professor of U.S. Foreign and Security Policy, Columbia University
Former Special Advisor to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan
"Preventive Self-Defense"
Oct. 19, 2006

Charles Beitz

Professor of Politics, Princeton University
"Is Democracy for Everyone?"
Feb. 2, 2007



Mershon Center Director Richard Herrmann (left) stands with Theda Skocpol, professor of government and sociology at Harvard University. In her talk, Skocpol argued that from the 1960s to 1990s American associational life has shifted away from popularly rooted membership associations and toward professionally managed organizations.



Michael Doyle (center), professor of U.S. foreign and security policy at Columbia University, speaks with senior Mershon Center faculty fellows Allan Silverman (left), professor of philosophy, and Richard Gunther, professor of political science. In his talk, Doyle discussed whether states should be able to go to war before they have been attacked in order to defend themselves.

Streaming videos for most lectures are posted on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu

EVENTS

SPEAKER SERIES (continued)

Islam and Democracy Speaker Series



Marina Ottaway, director of the Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, spoke about prospects for democracy in several Middle Eastern countries.

Mershon Center senior faculty fellow William Liddle worked with Ohio State's Honors and Scholars programs, Middle East Studies Center, and Department of Political Science to bring together talented undergraduate students and guest speakers to look at the intersecting roles of religion and democracy in traditionally Islamic countries. Guest lecturers spoke at the center and led a special seminar designed exclusively for students taking the jointly sponsored course.

Daniel Brumberg

Associate Professor of Government, Georgetown University
 "Islamists and Non-Islamists: Prospects for Coalition Building"
 April 24, 2007

Marina Ottaway

Director, Middle East Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 "Democracy in the Middle East: Is It Happening?"
 May 1, 2007

Ulil Abshar-Abdalla

Founder, Liberal Islam Network (JIL), Indonesia
 "Is God Subject to Vote? Islam, Democracy, and Religious Pluralism in Indonesia"
 May 10, 2007

Gregory Gause

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Vermont
 "Oil and Democratic Prospects in the Persian Gulf States"
 May 24, 2007



Gregory Gause, director of the Middle East studies program at the University of Vermont, speaks on the role of oil in Middle Eastern politics and society.

Streaming videos for most lectures are posted on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu

Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Security Workshop

The GIES workshop, organized by Mershon faculty fellows Alex Thompson and Sarah Brooks, provides a forum for faculty and graduate students to exchange ideas about broad themes in political economics, including global economic and political change, economic security, and the political dynamics of global integration—including conflict and cooperation—within and among nations.

Daniel Drezner

Associate Professor of International Politics,
Tufts University
"The Viscosity of Global Governance"
Jan. 19, 2007

Nathan Jensen

Assistant Professor of Political Science,
Washington University in St. Louis
"Firm Responses to Politics"
May 25, 2007

Michael Hiscox

Professor of Government, Harvard
University
"The Demand for Labor Standards: New
Evidence from Online Experiments in Social
Labeling of Imported Products"
May 18, 2007



Daniel Drezner (center), associate professor of international politics at Tufts University, stands with Mershon faculty fellows Alex Thompson (left) and Sarah Brooks, both professors of political science.



Marcus Holmes (left), Ph.D. student in political science, critiques a paper by Michael Hiscox, professor of government at Harvard University. In his talk, Hiscox discussed experiments he ran to determine whether consumers are willing to pay higher prices for products labeled as fair trade.

Social Interactions Speaker Series

This series, organized by Mershon faculty fellow Bruce Weinberg, explored the themes of cultural identity, group interaction, and leadership effects. It examines the individual's relationship with a group, as well as groups' relationships with each other. The findings have direct policy implications in any multicultural society such as Iraq, the Middle East, or the United States. Streaming videos for most lectures are posted on the Mershon Center web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.

Bruce Weinberg

Associate Professor of Economics, The Ohio
State University
"Social Interactions with Endogenous
Associations"
Jan. 16, 2007

Jennifer Foster

Lecturer, School of Commerce, University
of South Australia
"Can Positive Group Experiences Shift
Attitudes Toward Group Work?"
May 21, 2007

Scott Carrell

Director, Policy Research Shop, Nelson A.
Rockefeller Center, Dartmouth College
"Peer and Leadership Effects in Academic
and Athletic Performance"
March 8, 2007



Scott Carrell, director of the Policy Research Shop at Dartmouth College, discusses the effects of peer groups and leaders on the performance of students at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

EVENTS

SPEAKER SERIES (continued)



Jeremy Black, professor of history at the University of Exeter, talks with military history graduate students about two of his books, *Rethinking Military History* and *An Introduction to Global Military History, 1775-Present*.



Isabel Hull, John Stambaugh Professor of History at Cornell University, speaks about her book *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*.



Gregory Grandin, professor of history at New York University, spoke about the history of U.S. involvement in Latin America.

Graduate Workshop in Military History

The Ohio State military history program is widely known as one of the strongest in North America, with an average of 36 graduate students at any given time.

This series was meant to enhance not just their intellectual experience, but that of the Mershon community as a whole, by bringing in speakers who could illuminate the role of politics, economics, and culture in the use of violence as a way of solving problems.

Jeremy Black

Professor of History, University of Exeter
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute

"Could the British Have Won the American War of Independence?"

Oct. 20, 2006

Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank

Professor of African History, Professor of Russian History, New York University
"Empire and Citizenship, 212–1946"

Oct. 27, 2006

Graduate Student Veterans Panel

With Valerie Hudson, Peter Rayls, Thomas Spahr, and Professor John F. Guilmartin, The Ohio State University

"War in the 21st Century: The Graduate Experience"

Jan. 30, 2007

Isabel Hull

John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University

"Imperial German Warfare: Colonial or European?"

May 10, 2007

Graduate Workshop in Diplomatic History

This series, organized by Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History, invites distinguished scholars in the fields of national security and diplomatic history to give presentations for graduate students and faculty in history, political science, and other disciplines. Now running for 16 years, the series generates interdisciplinary discussion of international relations and U.S. security policy.

Sumit Ganguly

Chair of Indian Cultures and Civilizations, Indiana University

"Structure and Contingency in the Transformation of India's Foreign Policy"

Feb. 28, 2007

Nick Cullather

Associate Professor of History, Indiana University

"Parable of Seeds: The United States and the Transformation of Rural Asia"

March 9, 2007

Greg Grandin

Professor of History, New York University
"Empire's Workshop: The Latin American Roots of the Bush Doctrine"

March 6, 2007

Women in Development

Cathy Rakowski, associate professor of rural sociology and women's studies, organizes **The Ohio State University Association for Women in Development (OSU-WID)**, which promotes cutting-edge research, policymaking, peace and security, and activism on gender issues in social and economic development and globalization. Each year, this group's executive committee organizes a speaker series that the Mershon Center hosts.

Jillian Schwedler

Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland

"Rethinking Moderation: The Politics of Participation in the Middle East"

Sept. 28, 2006

Uma Narayan

Professor of Philosophy, Vassar College
"Informal Sector Work, Microcredit, and Third World Women's Economic Empowerment: A Critical Perspective"

Oct. 18, 2006

Kamala Kempadoo

Professor of Sociology, School of Women's Studies, York University in Toronto

"Sex Work and Sexual Rights in the Caribbean"

Nov. 6, 2006

Nadje Al-Ali

Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

"Iraqi Women Between Dictatorships, Wars, Sanctions, and Occupation"

April 9, 2007



Nadje Al-Ali, senior lecturer at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, spoke about the lives of Iraqi women from the 1970s to the present. Her lecture was one of the Mershon Center's most covered and best attended of the year.

Patricia Richards

Assistant Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies, University of Georgia

"Good Women and Bad Indians: Constructing and Resisting the Gendered Mapuche Subject in Post Dictatorship Chile"

May 9, 2007

Oxford Law Speaker Series

The Moritz College of Law offers three programs allowing its students to study the English and American legal systems at one of the oldest universities in the world through the Semester at Oxford Program, Summer at Oxford Program, and Pre-Law Program at Oxford University. This series, organized by Professor of Law James Brudney, brought members of the Oxford Law faculty to share their expertise with an interdisciplinary audience.

Stefan Talmon

Fellow in Law, St. Anne's College, Oxford University

"Security Council as World Legislator"

Oct. 30, 2006

Anne Davies

Fellow and Tutor in Law, Brasenose College, Oxford University

"The Role of the International Labour Organization in a Globalizing World"

March 28, 2007

Nicholas Bamforth

Fellow in Law, Queen's College, Oxford University

"Public Law and the Emergence of a Multi-Layered Constitution in Europe"

April 18, 2007



Stephan Talmon (center), fellow in law at St. Anne's College, Oxford University, stands with Richard Herrmann (left), director of the Mershon Center, and James Brudney, professor at the Moritz College of Law, organizer of the Oxford Law series.

Marine Lance Cpl. Daymond Geer, 21, who is manning the M-240 machine gun mounted on top of the cab of a seven-ton truck, looks up at highway signs showing the way to Fallujah, Baghdad, and Abu-Ghraib as the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment roll up Highway 1 to Fallujah, Iraq, on March 16, 2004. The Marines were heading to a forward operating base just outside of Fallujah, where they stayed for the next seven months. (Photo by Hayne Palmour, *North County Times*, who was embedded with Marines from Camp Pendleton, California, with Mershon Center journalist in residence Darrin Mortenson.)



An Iraqi Muslim leader demands that Marines protect his Saddam City neighborhood from looters and militia who shot at residents and homes at night after the Marines left for their camp in April 2003. "This is not Marine business," Capt. Matt Reid told the man. (Photo by Hayne Palmour, *North County Times*, who was embedded with Marines from Camp Pendleton, California, with Mershon Center journalist in residence Darrin Mortenson.)





STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

Graduate Student Research

Each year, the Mershon Center hosts a competition for Ohio State students who seek funding to conduct research, take courses, and attend meetings abroad on topics related to international security studies. Funds may be used for a variety of purposes related to the conduct of research and study, such as travel, food and lodging, tuition at an accredited foreign institution, and interview or library fees.

In 2006–07, the Mershon Center gave research grants to a record 13 graduate students working on dissertations in political science, history, and geography. As with faculty, funds support research in one of the Mershon Center’s three areas of focus: the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict. Students supported include:

Richard Arnold, Political Science

Ethnic Violence Disaggregated: An Inquiry into the Forms of Violence in Russia
p. 22

Paul Chamberlin, History

Preparing for Dawn: The Global Politics of Palestinian Resistance, 1967–1975
p. 30

Kristin Collins, History

A Clash of Cultures: Gender and Imperialism in 19th-Century Georgia
p. 31

Thomas Dolan, Political Science

Fighting “Real” Wars: The Timing and Content of Wartime Political Decisions
p. 23

Delia Dumitrescu, Political Science

Political Posters, Campaign Communications, and Democratic Integration
p. 41

Denice Fett, History

Invasion as a First and Last Resort: Europe in the 16th Century
p. 24

Tong-Fi Kim, Political Science

The U.S.-Japan Alliance and Alliance Theory
p. 42

Rohit Negi, Geography

The Role of Social Movements in the Democratization of the Sub-Saharan Post-Colonial State
p. 32

Autumn Lockwood Payton, Political Science

Embedded Institutions: Incentives and Constraints on States as Joiners
p. 43

Jason VanHorn, Geography

The Geography of Terrorism: Vulnerability and Perceived Threat
p. 25

Srdjan Vucetic, Political Science

The “Anglosphere”: A Genealogy of an Identity in International Relations
p. 33

Dustin Walcher, History

Missionaries of Modernization: The United States, Argentina, and the Liberal International Order, 1958–66
p. 44

Sarah Wilson, Political Science

Who Wins and Why? Lobbying and the Distribution of Resources in Russia
p. 45

Descriptions of these projects can be found in the “Research” section at the front of this report.

STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

UNDERGRADUATE ACTIVITIES

Mershon Undergraduate Fellows Program

One of the purposes of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies is to further student education at Ohio State. To that end, Mershon seeks to involve as many undergraduates as possible in center activities. Traditionally, Mershon has done this through offering student research grants and employing student assistants.

This year, the Mershon Center created a new program for undergraduates called Mershon Undergraduate Fellows. The purpose was to invite the best students in a variety of departments to participate in the center's activities by meeting our top speakers and being given first notice about opportunities for travel and research support.

The Mershon Undergraduate Fellows met several of our top speakers, including Jeffrey Sachs, director of the United Nations Millennium Project, and Peter Singer, director of the 21st-Century Defense Initiative at the Brookings Institution.

Our Undergraduate Fellows also made major accomplishments on their own, winning national scholarships and fellowships for future education. Among the winners were:



Yoonhee Ha – A triple major in microbiology, finance, and Korean, with a minor in political science, Ha has represented Ohio State students on the Board of Trustees, studied ventilation technologies to help the National Cancer Society lobby for a bill to ban indoor smoking, and worked with HIV-positive patients in Kenya. Ha is the recipient of a prestigious Marshall Scholarship, which will pay her expenses at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Ha, who was named a Truman Scholar last year, also made *USA Today's* All-USA College Academic First Team. Her goal is to become a physician who cares for underserved patients.



Joshua Lotz – Lotz obtained both a B.S. in biochemistry and an M.A. in Chinese at Ohio State. He was a co-founder of Global Health Initiative, a student group that builds awareness and opportunities for students interested in public health. Lotz is a recipient of the Harry S. Truman Scholarship, which awards \$30,000 to students committed to careers in public service. He will spend next year in China, studying the chemical makeup of two Tibetan poppy species through the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Lotz plans to pursue degrees in medical anthropology and public health before obtaining an M.D.



Nafisa Akbar – A senior majoring in political science and international studies, Akbar has research interests in South Asian politics, human development, and women's rights. Her senior honors thesis, "Closing the Gap: Creating Opportunities for Females in Bangladesh," took the top prize in its category at Ohio State's prestigious Denman Undergraduate Research



Forum. Akbar is winner of a Fulbright Scholarship and will spend next year working at the Shakti Foundation in Dhaka, Bangladesh, as well as starting a school in the village of Chandanimahal for underprivileged girls. After that, her goal is to obtain a Ph.D. in political science and teach at the university level.



Laura Tompkins – A political science major, Tompkins is winner of a Fulbright Scholarship, which she will use to spend nine months in São Paulo, Brazil, studying how relationships between urban slum communities and the state have changed since the transition to

democracy. She will observe community meetings and election campaigns, interview slum and city leaders, and go through public records of government projects in slum areas. Tompkins' goal is to understand why democracies do not always improve underprivileged citizens' lives, even when they grant citizens new political rights.



Heather Sweetser – A senior majoring in Arabic and international studies, Sweetser won a Critical Languages Scholarship from the U.S. State Department to study Arabic in Yemen. Sweetser has also studied abroad in Syria and New Zealand.



Jeffrey Sachs (center), director of the United Nations Millennium Project, meets with students from First Year Experience and the Mershon Undergraduate Fellows Program during a reception at the Ohio Union on Oct. 5, 2006.

STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

Mershon Undergraduate Research Forum

The Mershon Center worked with the Ohio State Undergraduate Research Office to host the first Mershon Undergraduate Research Forum on January 23, 2007.

Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann, along with Ralph D. Mershon Professors Alexander Wendt and Robert McMahon presented an interdisciplinary panel discussion on the basic ingredients of a good undergraduate research project.

Panel members gave examples of good undergraduate research projects and addressed questions such as:

- How do you develop good research questions?
- What types of methodologies should you use in your research?
- What foundation do you need to have before undertaking a research project? What theories and facts do you need to know, and what classes do you need to take?
- How can undergraduates work with the Institutional Review Board?
- How can undergraduates make connections with faculty members and their research?

About 30 students attended, with the vast majority giving the panel rave reviews. Eighty percent found the panelists extremely knowledgeable and clear in presentation. "I now fully understand what undergraduate research is about and how to begin," two students said. "Do this more often with this caliber of speakers," one student wrote.



Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History, speaks at the Mershon Undergraduate Research Forum, held at the John Glenn School of Public Affairs on January 23, 2007. McMahon told students to find a topic they are passionate about, focus on a something small that's doable, and use primary source materials.

Undergraduate Research

Kenny Ferenchak, Political Science Major

Escaping the Trap for Good: Working for Sustainable Peace and Development in Northern Uganda

Kenny Ferenchak examines the reintegration of former combatants into society after civil conflict in northern Uganda. He spent two months in the capital city of Kampala and northern town of Gulu interviewing relief workers, community officials, and persons affected by the conflict.



Kenny Ferenchak

Using Amartya Sen's Capability Approach as a standard to measure the success of the recovery effort, Ferenchak analyzes how relief efforts shape prospects for people's lives after the war is over. He concludes that despite some successes, relief efforts are limited by failure to sufficiently reintegrate former combatants.

Ferenchak also offers suggestions for alternative approaches to relief and recovery through reintegration, focusing on the inclusion of all war-affected persons and objectives of political and social empowerment beyond mere economic survival.

A grant from the Mershon Center allowed Ferenchak to present his project at the National Conference on Undergraduate Research at Dominican University of California on April 12–14, 2007, in San Rafael. There he received informed feedback about his work and made valuable contacts for future research and education.

Ryan Mason, Criminology Major

Rape as a Tool of Warfare

Rape is seen as one of the most abhorrent acts one can commit. Even killing can be justified in self-defense, but there is no such rationale for the act of rape. Why then, Ryan Mason asks, has rape been part of warfare since antiquity?

Mason's project examines the use of rape as a tool of warfare from an individual and cultural perspective. He delves into the connection between rape as a form of individual terrorism and the wider destruction of culture that occurs when state-sanctioned rape is pursued as a tactic of war.

Mason's review is conducted in light of well-known pieces of literature that contain the use of rape in warfare as a central theme, including Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of No Nation*. He also explores the long-term societal ramifications to the civilian populations in which these crimes are inflicted upon and to the soldiers who commit acts of rape on the battlefield.

A grant from the Mershon Center allowed Mason to present his research project at the Society for Military and Strategic Studies' Conference on War and Security: The Costs of Conflict, held March 2–3, 2007, at the University of Calgary.



Ryan Mason

STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

Student Activities

Mershon Center Director Richard Herrmann hosted several programs and events specifically for undergraduates this year, including the following:



Eileen McDonnell

Diplomatic Simulation

As part of his Foreign Policy Decision Making class, Herrmann's students conducted a diplomatic simulation in which they represented various countries and negotiated agreements, treaties, and contracts. Students then analyzed who won, who lost, and why, and applied theories and strategies they had learned in class to the game.

Soliya

Using new media technology from a Boston-based company called Soliya, 12 students from Herrmann's Foreign Policy Decision Making class participated in weekly roundtable discussions with students from across the United States and Middle East.

Discussion centered on a variety of topics such as identity and culture, the U.S. role in Iraq, and governance in the Middle East. But conversation could also turn quite personal, as students shared events that shaped their understanding of other cultures and



Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann coaches students in his Foreign Policy Decision Making class through a diplomatic simulation held at the Mershon Center on November 9, 2006.



Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann speaks about ongoing political unrest in the Middle East to undergraduates at the Kuhn Honors and Scholars House on October 12, 2006

their ideas about the root of the conflict between the United States and the Muslim world.

Eileen McDonnell, a senior international studies major who participated in Soliya, wrote a joint article with a Kuwaiti exchange student at Virginia Commonwealth on the importance of religious identity in both the United States and the Middle East.

"The point of the program is to see how much we have in common," McDonnell said. "Even with personal things, we found that we are a lot alike. It really helped to open the dialogue."

Fireside Chat

Herrmann shared his expertise by speaking to university Honors and Scholars students on "Crisis in the Middle East" during a Fireside Chat. These informal discussions are a forum for students to hear from faculty experts about topics of particular interest.

Postdoctoral Fellows and Visiting Scholars

Jason Parker, Postdoctoral Fellow

Jason Parker received a Ph.D. in history at the University of Florida under Robert McMahon in 2002. He used his time at the Mershon Center to



Postdoctoral Fellow Jason Parker speaks about his project *The Contest: Hearts, Minds, and American Public Diplomacy in the Third World* on October 25, 2006, at the Mershon Center.

complete a book, *The Contest: Hearts, Minds, and American Public Diplomacy in the Third World*.

Parker's book examines U.S. public diplomacy during the Cold War through case studies in four regions: the Middle East, Central and South America, sub-Saharan Africa, and East Asia. He analyzes the success or failure of American campaigns, the techniques employed

to convey the U.S. position to foreign audiences, and the policy machinery that orchestrated it in Washington and U.S. outposts abroad.

Parker argues that although U.S. public diplomacy in the Third World had mixed success and unintended consequences, it was an integral part of the broader Cold War struggle, was conducted systematically, and was relatively inexpensive and effective. It also has much to teach historians, political scientists, and policymakers currently embroiled in a "war of ideas" not only in Iraq, but in the broader War on Terror.

Parker's project is of interest to historians because it bridges the gap between the literatures on "psychological warfare" and U.S.-Third World

relations. It is also relevant to political scientists studying political psychology and leadership decision frameworks. And it speaks to practicing policymakers and diplomats.

After his fellowship at the Mershon Center, Parker joined the history department at Texas A&M University in College Station.

Tarak Barkawi, Postdoctoral Fellow

Tarak Barkawi is senior lecturer in international security at the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge. His research concerns the historical evolution of "North/South warfare," including European imperialism, the Cold War in the Third World, peacekeeping, and the place of armed force in North/South relations.

Barkawi spent his time at the Mershon Center working on a book project, *Orientalism at War in Korea*, whose theme is the fate of assumptions about Western superiority in the face of military defeat or reverse at the hands of non-European others.

"Small wars" gone wrong are occasions for consternation, disruption, and change in Western society, politics, and culture, Barkawi argues. This is because Western identities are largely dependent on defining the "Oriental" as other.



Postdoctoral Fellow Tarak Barkawi speaks about his project *Orientalism at War in Korea* on May 8, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

Postdoctoral Fellows and Visiting Scholars (continued)



Anita Bucknam, CIA officer in residence, speaks on "Inside the CIA" on May 16, 2007, at the Mershon Center. She shared some of her experiences at the CIA and sliced many of the myths about the agency.

Strongly invested in notions of Western vitality and dominance, yet also fearful of and attracted to the Orient, Western identities are uniquely vulnerable to military reversals. There is no more obvious sign of Oriental dominance than defeat in battle, and such defeats lead Western societies through stages of doubt, blame, and eventually redoubled efforts to re-establish superiority and difference.

These efforts have profound consequences for domestic politics and foreign relations. Barkawi explores these themes in U.S. involvement in the Korean War. He argues that the traumatic first year in Korea marked the closing of the Frontier in the American national narrative and the limiting of its total war mentality toward "Indians."

It also helped instill a distinctively Asian conception of the Communist other (e.g. "Communist hordes") informed by the carryover of Pacific War imagery to Korea and beyond in U.S. political, military, and popular understanding.

Barkawi is also at work on a second book project, *Soldiers of Empire: Battle and Society in the "Good War."* This book is about how soldiers are made and why they fight, written from the perspective of soldiers who fight for foreign powers. It draws on the experience of Indian and other British colonial forces to critique the Eurocentrism of military sociology and history, and the ways in which they understand the relations between battle, army, and society.

Anita Bucknam, CIA Officer in Residence

Anita Bucknam is the CIA officer in residence for 2006–07 and 2007–08 at the Mershon Center. Through this program, the CIA places

experienced officers in universities across the country to teach, conduct research, and act as a resource for faculty and students.

During the first year of her residency, Bucknam taught a variety of intelligence-related courses, including "Introduction to Intelligence" and "Topics in Advanced Intelligence." Next year she will teach a special topics course on "9/11: Truth, Lies, and Conspiracy Theories."

Bucknam received her bachelor's degree in Russian language and literature from Cornell University and her master's in Soviet area studies from Harvard. She joined the CIA in 1992 to conduct analytic assessments of Russian economic and political issues.

After the events of September 11, Bucknam transferred her analytic work to counterterrorism issues, particularly related to homeland security. She has also served short tours in the National Security Agency, the State Department, and the White House, as well as overseas in Moscow.

Bucknam is one of only four CIA officers in residence placed this year; others are at Duke, Tufts, and the University of San Diego.

Darrin Mortenson, Journalist in Residence

Darrin Mortenson is an award-winning journalist who covered the first three years of the war in Iraq for newspapers, magazines, and television.

He was embedded with U.S. Marines during the initial invasion of Iraq in 2003, again during the siege of Fallujah in early 2004, and then covered the first general elections from the Shiite holy cities of Kufa, Karbala, and Najaf in 2005, sending more than 150 dispatches from the front lines.



North County Times reporter Darrin Mortenson (left) and photographer Hayne Palmour IV use a satellite phone to file stories and photos at a Marine roadside camp near Al Hayy, Iraq, on March 29, 2003. A small power converter plugged into the Marine seven-ton truck kept the journalists' computers, cameras, and phone batteries charged throughout the war. Photo by Gunnery Sgt. Wayne Hertz, courtesy North County Times.

After serving as a Kiplinger Fellow at The Ohio State University, Mortenson joined the Mershon Center as the first-ever journalist in residence in August 2006, where he completed a manuscript on the U.S. Marines' experience during the invasion and completed most of a second manuscript on the Marines' experience in Fallujah.

In both books Mortenson took a novel approach, writing his narrative exclusively from the point of view of the infantrymen on the ground as they interpreted events and in their own words revealed the extent to which they fought a war they had not been prepared for. The first book, titled *What We Signed Up For*, could be published in 2008.

During his residency Mortenson also lectured in classes in security studies, political science, and journalism and served as mentor to student journalists. He will represent the Mershon Center at the Meaning of War conference at Notre Dame in September before heading back to Iraq to report for *Time* magazine.

While covering the Iraq war for the *North County Times*, a mid-sized paper that serves communities around the Marines' West Coast base at Camp Pendleton, California, Mortenson also contributed reports to *Time*, *Nightline*, and *ABC World News Tonight*.

He is the author with photographer Hayne Palmour of *A Thousand Miles to Baghdad*, a book of images and impressions from the invasion of Iraq. Palmour's images are used in several places throughout this year's Mershon Center Annual Report.

Julie Clemens, Peace Studies Coordinator

As Peace Studies coordinator at the Mershon Center, Julie Clemens was a point person in the search to fill the Peace Studies chair and organized with center director Richard Herrmann the center's conference on Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies.

Clemens also worked on her own dissertation, "The Politics of Peace in U.S. Higher Education." In this project, she argues that although several hundred peace studies programs have been established on U.S. college campuses in the past 60 years, they are not politically, culturally, or institutionally valued, and peace studies curriculum and research remains on the margins of academic scholarship.

Clemens' study analyzes the current conditions of peace studies scholarship in the fields of international relations and peace studies within U.S. higher education. The qualitative methods of questionnaire, interview, and document analysis are used to investigate the perspectives of the most influential scholars within the two academic fields.

STUDENTS, VISITORS, AND FELLOWS

Postdoctoral Fellows and Visiting Scholars (continued)



Julie Clemens (right), Peace Studies coordinator, listens to discussion during Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies on May 12, 2007, at the Mershon Center. With her is keynote speaker Joyce Neu, executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice.

The study has two objectives: to investigate how peace studies scholarship is perceived and valued by scholars in the field of international relations, which has historically served as its primary academic home; and to analyze the conjunctions and disjunctions in the

research agendas and assumptions of scholars within the field of peace studies.

Clemens argues that peace studies curriculum and research in U.S. higher education needs to be reconstituted. Toward that end, her study offers a resource for understanding the politics of curriculum and program development within marginalized fields of study in U.S. higher education.

Taehyun Kim, Visiting Scholar

Taehyun Kim is a professor at the Graduate School of International Studies at Chung-Ang University, in Seoul, South Korea.

He has written scores of articles, in both English and Korean, on such subjects as international relations theory, foreign policy analysis, inter-Korean relations, international relations in East Asia, and other international security issues.

While at the Mershon Center, Kim worked on *Democratization and Foreign Policy Making in South Korea*. In this project, Kim argues that while

democratization has been a blessing for the South Korean people and contributed to international peace and security, it also poses serious challenges for political leadership, resulting in an indecisive and disorganized foreign policy.

To make his point, Kim cites the South Korean decision to send troops to Iraq in 2003–04. After the government agreed to send 6,000 troops, an Iraqi terrorist group took a South Korean citizen hostage, eventually beheading him. This led to a heated debate about whether South Korea should honor its commitment. The government reacted by sending half as many troops as promised, in secret, to a location not originally intended.

Besides his main research agenda, Kim also published three academic papers and contributed 18 columns

to major newspapers in Korea, including one right after North Korea's nuclear test on October 9, 2006, in which he predicted a breakthrough in the six-party talks.



Taehyun Kim, visiting scholar from Chung-Ang University, in Seoul, South Korea, gives a lunch talk on "National Identity and Foreign Policy Attitudes of the South Korean Public" on April 4, 2007, at the Mershon Center.

A graduate from Seoul National University's international relations department (B.A., 1981; M.A., 1983), Kim received a Ph.D. in political science from The Ohio State University in 1991 with a dissertation on U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Third World.

OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

The director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Richard Herrmann, reports to Dieter Wanner, Interim Associate Provost for International Affairs, and to a provost-appointed oversight committee. This year, the committee included:

Paul Beck, Dean, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences (chair)

Kenneth Andrien, Professor, Department of History

Daniel Farrell, Professor, Department of Philosophy

Camille Hébert, Carter C. Kissell Professor of Law

David Horn, Chair, Department of Comparative Studies

Col. Michael Huhn, Commander, Air Force ROTC

Robert Kaufman, Professor, Department of Sociology

Lt. Col. Todd Miller, Commander, Army ROTC

Capt. Steven Noce, Commander, Navy ROTC

John Roberts, Dean, College of Humanities

Michael Sherman, Vice Provost for Academic Administration

Richard Steckel, Professor of Economics

Herb Weisberg, Chair, Department of Political Science

Christian Zacher, Director, Institute for Collaborative Research and Public Humanities

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